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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES







The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

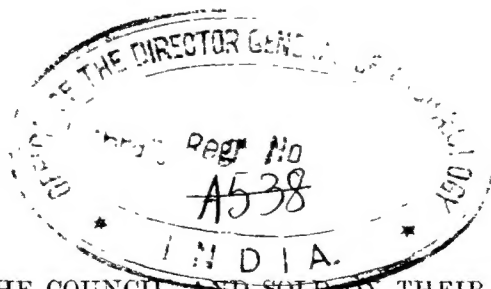
# THE JOURNAL

OF

# HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME XVI. (1896)

938.005  
J H. S.



PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

BY

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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:--

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.



4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1894, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22, ALBEMARLE STREET

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian and Assistant-Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian, Assistant Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Assistant-Librarian, or in her absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

(1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.

(2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

(3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

(1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

(2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

(3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it

- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within three months of their coming into the Library.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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SESSION 1896—1897.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 P.M. on the following days :—

1896.

Monday, November 2nd

1897.

Monday, February 15th.

Monday, April 12th.

Monday, June 20th (Annual).

The Council will meet at 4.30 p.m. on each of the above days.

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 The Reform Club, *Pall Mall, London, S.W.*  
 The Royal Institution, *Albemarle Street, W.*  
 The Library, *Westminster School, S.W.*

- The Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, c/o Messrs. Harrison & Sons, 59, *Pall Mall*.  
 The Foreign Architectural Book Society (Charles Fowler, Esq.), 23, *Queen Anne St., W.*  
 The Sion College Library, *Victoria Embankment, E.C.*  
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 The Bibliothèque Universitaire, *Palais Saint Pierre, Lyons.*  
 The Library of the University of Wisconsin, *Madison, U.S.A.* (E. F. Riley, Esq.)  
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 The Library of the University of Milan, *Milano.*  
 The McGill University Library, *Montreal* (C. H. Gould, Esq.)  
 The Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, *Munster, I.W.*  
 The Royal Library, *Munich.*  
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 The Sachs Collegiate Institute, *New York.*  
 † The Bodleian Library, *Oxford.*  
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 The Union Society, *Oxford.*  
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 The Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque de l'Université de France, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *Paris.*  
 The École Normale Supérieure, *Paris.*  
 The Library Company, *Philadelphia.*  
 The Library of the University of Pennsylvania, *Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*  
 The Vassar Library, *Poughkeepsie, N.Y.*  
 The Archæological Seminary, *The University, Prague* (Dr. Wilhelm Klein).  
 The Bibliothèque de l'Université, *Rennes.*  
 The Library of Brown University, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*  
 The American School of Classical Studies, *Rome, Italy.*  
 The Rossall Library, *Rossall, Fleetwood* (the Rev. W. H. E. Worship).  
 The School Reading Room, *Rugby*, care of Mr. A. J. Lawrence.  
 The St. Louis Mercantile Library, *St. Louis, U.S.A.*  
 The Royal Library, *Stockholm* (Messrs. Samson & Wallin).  
 The Archæological Museum, *The University, Strassburg* (per Prof. Michaelis).  
 The Imperial University and National Library, *Strassburg.*  
 The Free Library, *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 The University Library, *Syracuse, New York.*  
 The University Library, *Toronto.*  
 The Library of the University of Illinois, *Urbana, Illinois.*  
 The Boys' Library, *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 The Public Library, *Winterthur.*  
 The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Mass., U.S.A.*

LIST OF JOURNALS. &c, RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE  
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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 Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*)  
 Ephemeris Archaeologike. *Athens*.  
 Jahrbuch of German Imperial Archaeological Institute, Corneliusstrasse No. 2 II. *Berlin*.  
 Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*  
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 Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute at *Athens*.  
 Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute at *Rome*  
 Mittheilungen and Abhandlungen of the Archaeolog. Epigraphisches Seminar of the University of Vienna.  
 Mnemosyne (*care of Mr. E. J. Brill*), *Leiden, Holland*.  
 Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.  
 Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (*care of Dietrich'sche Verlags Buchhandlung, Göttingen*).  
 Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society.  
 Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.  
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# LIST OF BOOKS, PAMPHLETS & PERIODICALS

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## SESSION 1895-96.

THE First General Meeting was held on November 4th, 1895, Professor P. Gardner, V.P., in the chair.

Miss Jane Harrison read a paper on the site of the Enneacrunus in the light of Dr. Dörpfeld's recent discoveries and theories, and in special connection with Thucydides, ii. 15. This passage up to the date of Dr. Dörpfeld's recent excavations has always been quoted in favour of the orthodox view that the primitive city of Athens lay in and to the south of the Acropolis, *i.e.*, that the words *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος* refer back to *τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον*. The ancient sanctuaries mentioned by Thucydides as lying close to this ancient πόλις—*i.e.*, the sanctuaries of Olympian Zeus, Apollo Pythius, Ge, and Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις—have been identified with the Olympieion, near the Ilissus; the Pythion and precinct of Ge, known from Pausanias to have adjoined it; and the precinct of the theatre of Dionysus Eleutherius, all lying to the south and south-east of the Acropolis; the adjacent Enneacrunus was, on the same showing, supposed to be on the Ilissus, and the whole passage was used in support of the famous theory of the 'Enneacrunus episode.' Of all this accredited system of topography Dr. Dörpfeld would make a clean sweep. He points out that the whole contention of Thucydides is that the ancient πόλις was much smaller than the Themistoclean city. How, then, can he adduce sanctuaries lying outside the Themistoclean wall in support of his argument? Dr. Dörpfeld transplants the primitive city from the south and south-east to the west and south-west. He claims to have localized the Enneacrunus under the Pnyx rock, and to have actually found the precinct of Dionysus Limnæus in the low-lying ground between the Pnyx, Areopagus, and Acropolis. The precinct there laid bare contains, unquestionably, an altar, a temple, and, most noticeable of all, a primitive wine press, this last especially characteristic of Dionysus Lenaius. The Pythion Dr. Dörpfeld places close to the cave of Aglaurus, and to this site he refers the passage in the 'Ion' (v. 185). Here omens were taken from the Pythian lightnings on an altar lying between the Pythion and the Olympieion; an Olympieion must therefore have once existed close at hand. A sanctuary of Ge was seen by Pausanias immediately before he entered the Propylæa. Thus the series of ancient sanctuaries is complete, and named by Thucydides in their natural order, going westwards down the hill. Miss Harrison drew attention to

the fact that *πρός* with the accusative frequently implies not only direction but proximity, and is used by Thucydides (iv. 110) in describing Torone to indicate exactly the situation he claims for the sanctuaries in question. It remained for scholars to decide whether *πρός τοῦτο τὸ μέρος* could fairly be read as near to the primitive *polis*, instead of, as before, in a southerly direction.

Mr. E. Gardner said that the brilliancy and persuasiveness of Dr. Dorpfeld's exposition and of Miss Harrison's presentation of his views must not blind us to the old arguments, mainly of a literary kind, which had certainly not been entirely disposed of by the new theory. In reference to the passage in Thucydides, the question was not whether the words could possibly be interpreted to fit Dr. Dörpfeld's theory, but what was their natural meaning; and here all scholars had hitherto been agreed. It was difficult to believe that if, in mentioning the Olympieion and Pythion, Thucydides did not mean the temples best known under those names, he would not have used some distinctive epithet, as he did in the case of the Dionysion. Again, the terms in which Thucydides referred to the Enneacrunus did not correspond with the new view of a scanty spring, stored in reservoirs and supplemented by wells, and ultimately superseded by an aqueduct bringing water from a distance in the time of Peisistratus. It was surely more likely that the symbolical bath before marriage would be associated with the river-god Ilissus than with a scanty spring or the end of an aqueduct. The epithet *γαμοστόλος* applied to Ilissus by Nonnus deserved notice. The topographical and literary evidence given by Leake and others seemed to favour the old site, and the geological evidence, so far as available, might be held to support either view. The area of the new so-called precinct of Dionysus did not seem at all large enough for the celebration of a great popular festival like the Lenaia, and the surrounding district must have been too thickly populated to afford additional space. There was the further objection that, according to Dr. Dorpfeld, the whole precinct was closed except for one day in the year. On these grounds it seemed advisable to suspend judgment until more definite and certain evidence was available for the solution of a very complicated problem.

Mr. J. L. Myres said that the detailed geological investigation of the site of Athens showed, as against Dorpfeld, that there could have been, and probably was, marshy ground between the Acropolis and the Ilissus, held up by the rocky north bank of the river, and draining south-west into Ilissus below the Museum hill: and, as against Dörpfeld's critics, that the hollow between Pnyx, Arcopagus, and Acropolis was also probably marshy. As to primæval Athens being south of Acropolis, the statement of Thucydides was confirmed by the identification of Mycenæan and Stone Age settlements in the *Πελασγικόν*. Dörpfeld's site with the Museum-Pnyx ridge behind, offered better cover for Pelasgian brigands than the Ilissus bank, which was commanded by watchmen on the Acropolis.

Dr. Sandys, mainly on literary grounds, supported Mr. E. Gardner in

upholding the traditional view until more convincing evidence was forthcoming.

Sir John Evans thought that a Roman House would hardly have been built over the site of a sacred well, as seemed to be demanded by Dr. Dörpfeld's theory.

Miss Harrison replied briefly to these criticisms.

The Second General Meeting was held on February 17th, 1896, Professor P. Gardner, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. Edmund Oldfield, on the invitation of the Council, read a brief summary of his views on the architectural form of the Halicarnassian Mausoleum, which he had more fully elaborated in three papers read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1893—4. He divided the evidence on the subject into literary and monumental: I. Passing over several references to the building in ancient authors as uninformative for the present purpose, he analyzed more closely than had hitherto been done the two well-known descriptive passages in Martial and Pliny. (1) From the former, which characterizes the building as "hanging in empty air," he argued that the principal story, or Pteron, was composed merely of columns, pilasters, and piers, without any *cella* within, so as to show on every side from without a colossal statue at the centre. (2) Examining the language of Pliny word by word, he showed the true interpretation of the description of the "pyramid over the Pteron" to be that it *originally* terminated in an apex like that of a Roman meta, rising by twenty-four steps to a height equal to that of the pyramid below, but that it was truncated by Pythis to make a standing-place for his quadriga. (3) He then quoted a passage from Guichard's 'Funérailles,' &c., relating, after an eye-witness, how the Knights of Rhodes in 1522 discovered the basement of the monument, the exterior of which, being square in plan and continuously graduated, is alluded to by Pliny as the *pyramis inferior*, truncated to carry the superstructure, whilst the interior included a large and handsome room, which was the real and only *cella* of the monument, with a smaller sepulchral chamber adjoining, which contained a costly tomb, perhaps that of Mausolus himself. II. The monumental evidence Mr. Oldfield limited to buildings posterior to B.C. 353, the date of Mausolus's death, and he exhibited illustrations of five, which might fairly be thought imitations of the Mausoleum, and therefore suggestive of what was its most characteristic feature. This feature was evidently the open Pteron, within which, in one example, the central statuary still remained. He then explained, and illustrated by diagrams, the restoration he himself proposed, describing successively (1) the Basement; (2) the Podium; (3) the Pteron; (4) the Attic; (5) the Upper Pyramid. He showed that their aggregate height reached 126 feet, which exactly equalled the length, and was as 6 to 5 to the breadth of the building's base, as excavated by Sir Charles Newton. The addition of the quadriga increased the whole to the 140 feet mentioned by Pliny. The Pteron was surrounded by

36 columns of rather low proportion, and arranged in pycnostyle order, to provide for the exceptional weight of the pyramidal roof. By the 63 feet stated as the length of the north and south sides was intended the length of the octostyle lateral colonnades. The east and west fronts are distinguished by hexastyle porticoes. The 411 feet given as the *totus circuitus* was to be measured on the lower step of the Pteron. The ceilings, both of the *cella* in the basement and of the Pteron, might be formed of hollow pyramids, similar to some at Panticapeum and near Camirus. All questions as to the arrangement of the sculptures Mr. Oldfield reserved for papers he proposed to read elsewhere.

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Mr. H. H. Statham, and Mr. H. Stannus took part, all expressing their admiration of the paper as a model of archæological argument, though the two latter suggested certain modifications in points of detail.

The Third General Meeting was held on March 30, 1896, Professor P. Gardner, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. G. B. Grundy read a paper dealing with Thucydides' narrative of Sphacteria in considerable detail. The general conclusions arrived at were that on the vexed question of the existence or non-existence of the lagoon of Osmyn Aga at the time at which the events on Sphacteria took place, Captain Smyth, the Admiralty Surveyor, was right, and Col. Leake and those who followed him wrong. The lagoon did exist as navigable water, with probably a more or less fully formed bar cutting it off partially from the Bay of Navarino. The theory that Palæokastro is Sphacteria, and Agio Nikolo Coryphasium, is untenable, the evidence being very conclusive as to the identity of Sphagia with Sphacteria, and consequently of Palæokastro with Coryphasium. The peculiarities of Coryphasium are in close accord with Thucydides' narrative, and the position of the walls on the sea and land sides respectively are determinable with something like certainty. The sea attack can only have been made on the south-west coast of the promontory, the land attack at a gap in the east cliff, near the north end of it. He did not find, nor did he expect to find, traces which could be identified even with remote probability with the Athenian fortifications. The latter were of an emergency character, and the site has been successively occupied by two considerable settlements, the Pylos of Pausanias and a great mediæval settlement. The blocking of the channels presents much difficulty. It seems quite impossible to reconcile Thucydides' statements with the south channel into Navarino Bay. The mistake seems to have been a topographical one. Thucydides never apprehended the existence of any harbour save Navarino Bay, and consequently imagined that the channels blocked were the two entrances of that bay. Mr. Grundy was led to believe that the channels blocked were the entrance to the Voithio Kilia and the Sikia Channel. From the fulness of detail with which Thucydides describes the sea attack, and the

absence of detail with regard to the land attack, it would seem highly probable that he relied for his information as to what took place on Coryphasium on one informant; and furthermore a manifest inconsistency in the account might lead to a suspicion that he wished to give undue prominence to Demosthenes, the 'hero' of the narrative. This tendency was further shown in the account of what took place on the arrival of the Athenian fleet, where what seems to have been the result of a successful ruse on the part of Eurymedon is, owing probably to Demosthenes not having a hand in the affair, ascribed to an incomprehensibly bold resolve, unsupported by any apparent motive, on the part of the Peloponnesian fleet. Regarding the fifteen stades mentioned as the length of the island of Sphacteria, Mr. Grundy was disposed to think that the manifest error arose from the fact that the part of the island occupied by the Spartans was of that length. The landing places of the Athenian force were determinable with practical certainty, and the whole account of the operations on the island was eminently supported by the local topography. The exploit of the Messenian captain and his band he apprehended consisted in making their way along the cliff into a hollow underneath the summit where the Spartans made their last stand. He ascribed Thucydides' ignorance of the existence of the lagoon harbour to the fact that for the events in Coryphasium and Sphacteria respectively, the historian relied on two sets of informants, each of whom referred to the piece of water which was the centre of interest at the time the events they described took place as 'the harbour': the expression meaning to the first the lagoon harbour, to the second, Navarino Bay.

In the discussion which followed Mr. R. Burrows, of Glasgow University, agreed with Mr. Grundy in his acceptance of Col. Leake's identification of Pylos and Sphacteria. But he maintained that Thucydides did visit the spot, and was confused on only one, and that a not essential point. The lagoon of Osmyn Aga was not a separate inner harbour, but an integral part of the main harbour, and the entrances which Thucydides describes were, as he expressly says (iv. 8, 6), entrances each side of the island of Sphacteria, and need not be referred to the distant bay of Voithio Kilia, which was, indeed, according to Mr. Grundy's own theory, not an entrance at all, but a blind alley. The southern of the two entrances must then be that which now exists at the south of the Bay of Navarino. It is, of course, far too broad, and no supposed change of ground can get over the difficulty. But the description which Thucydides gives of it as offering a passage for eight or nine ships abreast may have arisen from a thoughtless inference drawn from the distribution of the forces with which the Athenian squadron of fifty ships entered the harbour. In order to prevent the enemy from escaping, they would naturally have detached ten ships for the narrow, and forty for the broad entrance (iv. 13, 2, and 14, 1). And they would have entered in both cases five deep, and two and eight or nine abreast. This fact would not unnaturally lead Thucydides to credit an excuse made by the Spartans after the event for their insane occupation



of Sphacteria. They would find it **easy** and convenient to say that they had meant to block up the two entrances. Such a proceeding was **impossible**, and, of course, did not, as a matter of fact, take place at all (iv. 13, 4). We can on this theory admit that the brilliant and exact account Thucydides gives of the battle of Sphacteria was the result of a visit to the spot, and that he accurately described every point in the topography except the breadth of the southern entrance. The error in the length of Sphacteria is best accounted for on palæographical grounds (iv. 8, 6), the length of the island is twenty-four stades, and κε' (25), as near a measurement as could be looked for, could easily be corrupted to ιε' (15). Mr. Burrows alluded to the discovery he had made of the ground plan of the παλαιὸν ἔρυμα on Sphacteria, and of a fragment of the Athenian walls on Pylos. He thought he could use the former to show conclusively the path taken by the Messenians in the final surprise, which was different from that suggested by Mr. Grundy. As regards the walls on Pylos, he found traces, both in Thucydides and in the necessities of the ground, of three instead of two walls. It was that πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον (iv. 9, 2) which he thought he had discovered, but there also must have existed on the extreme south-east a different one, κατὰ τὸν λιμένα (iv. 13, 2), where the Spartans meant on the third day to land and use siege engines. This could not have been πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον, for then what need of landing? The word ἀπόβασις could not, as Mr. Grundy suggested, be used of the disembarkation of timber.—The Chairman, Sir F. Pollock, and Dr. Leaf also joined in the discussion.

In answer to difficulties raised by Mr. Burrows, Mr. Grundy said (1) that the extent of the sandbar between the lagoon and the bay at the time of the events on Sphacteria could not in the very nature of things be more than a matter of conjectural calculation; (2) that he was strongly of opinion that the fortifications of τὸ πρὸς ἡπειρον and τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος were identical; that Mr. Burrows' attribution of the mistake as to the length of the island to textual corruption seemed perfectly tenable; (4) that he could not on the intrinsic evidence of the tale agree with Mr. Burrows' belief that Thucydides had ever seen the locality; (5) that he thought Mr. Burrows had misunderstood his reference to the hollow beneath the summit of Sphacteria; (6) that on the whole, whatever may have been the case in the last stand at the summit, he thought that Helots had not been present with the Spartan force at the time of the attack near the well and during the retreat to the summit. In answer to a further objection raised by Dr. Leaf with respect to the difficulty of blocking the Sikia Channel with a hostile force on the north shore of it, Mr. Grundy said he was inclined to think that the channel could be effectively obstructed without the northern ships being exposed to missiles from the shore. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xvi., p. 1.)

The Fourth General Meeting was held on May 4th, 1896, Professor L. Campbell, V.P. in the chair.

Mr. Talfourd Ely exhibited photographs of several pictures recently discovered at Pompeii, and read a paper on three of them, which represent Heracles strangling serpents, Dirce tied to the bull, and the death of Pentheus. He pointed out the relation between these three, which are all connected with Thebes and show the influence of Euripides on art. The Heracles was traced to an original by Zeuxis mentioned by Pliny. The myth of Dirce is of a local Boeotian stamp, and suggests a Theban artist. One Theban artist, Aristeides, is known to us through Pliny. He painted scenes of terror and of death, and may possibly have created the type of Dirce. We know that some of his pictures were brought to Italy, and they may have been copied by Pompeian painters. In the death of Pentheus, a subject not previously found in the buried cities of Campania, the composition and the expression of action are excellent. The fully draped female figures suggest a comparatively early date for the archetype, which Mr. Ely thought might possibly be found in the painting of Pentheus mentioned by Pausanias as existing in a temple of Dionysus at Athens. Mr. Ely pointed out that one idea was common to the whole of this Theban trio, viz., the destruction awaiting such as offended against those dear to Zeus, and the ultimate triumph of his offspring. Besides this, an outward parallelism existed (as elsewhere in Pompeii) in the size and position of the pictures, and (approximately) in the number and grouping of the figures—a symmetry specially characteristic of classic art. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xvi., p. 143.)

Professor Gardner expressed his general approval of the paper, although he differed in some points of detail.

The Chairman, in expressing the thanks of the meeting, dwelt particularly on the trouble Mr. Ely had taken to illustrate his paper by photographs.

The Annual Meeting was held on June 15th, 1896, Sir E. Maunde Thompson, V.P., in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the Council's Report :—

The Council have again to report a session of useful work and steady prosperity without any very striking incident. The publication of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* is still the main outcome of the Society's efforts, and, under the able guidance of the Editorial Committee, maintains an honourable place among periodicals of its class. By special arrangement with the Council of the Egypt Exploration Fund, members of the Society received with the last number of the Journal a special report on the Excavations in Alexandria, by Mr. D. G. Hogarth and Mr. E. F. Benson, towards the cost of which this Society had made a grant.

The Society has to regret the loss of some important members by death in the course of the year. Among them special mention is due to Lord Leighton, who, although his other engagements prevented him from taking an active part in its management, had from the outset shown a warm interest in the Society's work. Dr. J. Henry Middleton, one of the

Vice-Presidents, who has passed away within the last few days, was among the earliest members of the Society, and had contributed some valuable papers to the Journal. His death is the more to be regretted, as it is known that he was engaged upon a topographical work on Athens, similar to his handbook on Ancient Rome.

Members will be glad to learn that the British School at Athens, to which the Society has long been a subscriber, has now been placed upon a more satisfactory financial basis, and has done some excellent work during the past season. The number of well-equipped students has been fully up to the average, and important excavations have been carried on in the Island of Melos and for the first time in Athens itself, on the supposed site of the ancient Kynosarges. A full account of the results will, as usual, be given next month to the Annual Meeting of subscribers to the School.

In accordance with the traditional policy of helping as far as possible all projects of research in the field of Hellenic Studies, the Council have in the course of the year voted grants of £50 to Mr. W. R. Paton towards some proposed excavations in the neighbourhood of Budrum, and of £30 to Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, a former student of the British School at Athens, towards additional illustrations for a work on the topography of Aetolia, which is to be published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

Four General Meetings have been held in the course of the year, and have been well attended. The papers read have been of remarkable interest, and have in most cases led to animated discussions. Besides the papers contributed by members, a special meeting was held in March to hear a valuable paper on the Mausoleum, which Mr. Edmund Oldfield, F.S.A., had been invited to read before the Society.

The Council have during the last few months devoted special attention to the Library, with a view to improving the arrangements for its custody and management. New bookshelves have been provided and the books are being rearranged in a more systematic way. Dr. Holden, to whom the Society is much indebted for his valuable services as Hon. Librarian, has felt obliged to resign the post on account of ill-health, but the Council have been fortunate enough to secure in his place the help of Mr. Arthur Smith, of the British Museum, who has long been an active member of the Library Committee. Miss Hughes, the Assistant Librarian, has also resigned her post, the increasing pressure of her duties for the Royal Asiatic Society rendering it impossible for her to give sufficient attention to the care of a second library. In her stead the Council have appointed Miss Fanny Johnson, formerly Head Mistress of the Bolton High School for Girls, who is at present giving the whole of her time to the work. It is hoped that the continual presence of a competent Librarian will largely increase the usefulness of the Library to members. At the same time, as the funds available for the purchase of books are not large, it has been thought well to send to members during the past week a circular appealing for donations of suitable books or pamphlets.

The loan collection of Lantern Slides is still in constant request, and

during the past year arrangements have been made whereby it is available to members of the Teachers' Guild on the understanding that members of the Society have similar access to the slides belonging to the Guild. This co-operation with other bodies which have the same object in view cannot fail to strengthen the position of the Society, and its claims to support from all those who are interested in the higher branches of Education.

The Treasurer's Accounts show the financial position of the Society to be satisfactory. Ordinary receipts during the year were £915 against £910 during the financial year 1894-95. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £655, against £692. Life Compositions amount to £63, against £50, an increase of £13, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes £116, against £122. The receipts for loan of Lantern Slides amount to £7, against £2, but other items of ordinary income show no change. The sum of £30 has been refunded by Mr. Hogarth, being part of the Grant made in 1895 for Excavations at Alexandria.

The ordinary expenditure for the year amounts to £621, against £730. Payments for Rent £80, Insurance £15, Salaries £47, and Stationery, &c. £46, are practically the same as in the preceding year, but the cost of purchases for the Library shows £39, against £96. The cost of the Journal, Vol. XV., Parts 1 and 2, has amounted to £394, against £441. The usual grant of £100 was made to the British School at Athens, and £23 was paid for printing Mr. Hogarth's Report. The balance carried forward at the close of the year under review amounted to £340, against £169 at the end of the previous financial year.

• Since the entrance fee was imposed in January, 1894, about £75 have been received from this source, a very substantial addition to the Society's income.

Twenty-six new members have been elected during the year, while thirty-seven have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net decrease of eleven, and brings the total number of members to 773.

Ten new Libraries have joined the list of Subscribers, which now amount to 127; or with the five Public Libraries to 132.

It will be seen that although in other respects the position of the Society is satisfactory, there has been this year for the first time since its foundation in 1879 an actual falling off in the number of members. The number of losses has been above the average, while the number of accessions has been below it. The position so far is not serious, but if the process were to go on, it would soon become so. Under these circumstances, the Council feel bound to emphasise their usual appeal to members to do what lies in their power to make the Society more widely known, so as to bring in fresh recruits to fill up inevitable gaps in the ranks. Only so can the continued prosperity and efficiency of the Society be assured.



A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.	31 May, 1894.	31 May, 1895.	31 May, 1896.
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ 537	£ 539	£ 545	£ 532	£ 585	£ 554	£ 564	£ 671	£ 678	£ 645
Arrears . . . . .	35	41	32	26	39	16	13	44	14	9
Life Compositions . . . . .	95	79	47	47	79	126	95	79	50	63
Libraries and Back Vols. . . . .	156	119	122	96	118	233	161	186	122	117
Dividends . . . . .	20	30	33	34	35	37	39	43	43	43
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bent . . . . .	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mrs. Cohen (Library) . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Sir C. Nicholson . . . . .	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Laurentian MS. . . . .	...	53	31	11	37	...	...	...	...	...
Mr. D. G. Hogarth (Alexandria Grant Refunded) . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30
Loan of Lantern Slides . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	4	2	7
Royalty on Sales of Photo- graphs . . . . .	...	...	...	...	5	5	2	2	1	1
Loan from Bankers . . . . .	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Donations—James Vansittart, Esq., E. H. Egerton, Esq . . . . .	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	5	...	...
	888	861	910	846	898	976	878	1,034	910	915
Balance from preceding year . . . . .	622	489	255	42	151	255	239	239	214	162
	1,510	1,350	1,165	888	1,049	1,231	1,117	1,273	1,124	1,077

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.	31 May, 1894.	31 May, 1895.	31 May, 1896.
Rent . . . . .	£ 42	£ 15	£ 30	£ 30	£ 30	£ 35	£ 50	£ 73	£ 80	£ 80
Insurance . . . . .	2	3		13	11	11	11	11	15	15
Salaries . . . . .	41	46	39	39	39	44	49	49	49	47
Library . . . . .	4	41	15	2	16	8	41	75	96	39
Stationery, Printing, and Postage . . . . .	63	54	61	55	62	41	71	49	49	46
Cost of Journal (less sales) . . . . .	412	583	*873	397	440	610	332	475	441	394
Grants . . . . .	150	350	100	1100	150	125	100	185	225	100
Egypt Exploration Fund —1,100 copies of Mr. Hogarth's Report . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Investments . . . . .	300	...	...	...	46	100	...	158	...	...
Loan Repaid . . . . .	...	...	...	101	...	...	...	...	...	...
Photo Enlargements, Albums, Lantern Slides, &c . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	18	4	4	...	...
Sundries . . . . .	2	3		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1,021	1,097	1,123	737	794	992	858	1,079	955	744
Balance . . . . .	489	255	42	151	255	239	259	214	169	340
	1,510	1,350	1,165	888	1,049	1,231	1,117	1,293	1,124	1,084

\* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

† The grant of £100 to the School at Athens has been paid since the accounts were made up. see Cash Account.



# AN INVESTIGATION OF THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE REGION OF SPHAKTERIA AND PYLOS.

[PLATES I., II., III.]

## PREFACE.

THE expenses of this investigation were to a great extent defrayed by grants of money which the University of Oxford and the Principal and Fellows of Brazenose College were kind enough to vote me for the purpose.

I am greatly indebted to the advocacy of my friends Professor Pelham and Mr. Macan in obtaining these grants.

In the winter of 1892-3 I did some topographical work in Southern • Boeotia. The results of that work were, to myself at any rate, satisfactory in the sense that I felt when the work was finished that I had done something towards clearing up my own ideas with regard to important parts of the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, and that I might possibly, if I stated my views with sufficient clearness, help to free the minds of others from difficulties to which the study of those portions of the histories must inevitably give rise.

In the winter of 1893-4 I did similar work in Italy with regard to the battles of the Trebbia and Lake Trasimene.

There remained a great question in classical topography which peculiarly interested me and which had never been thoroughly investigated by any inquirer, the question of the account of the operations at Sphakteria as related by Thucydides. That persons interested in the matter had visited the region it is hardly necessary to say, but I cannot find evidence of any one of these inquirers having made a survey of the country or having stayed more than a day or two, at most, in the district. Captain Smyth, who made for the Admiralty the survey which Arnold used in his edition of Thucydides, must of course have known the region well, but, though he gave Arnold valuable information, he made his map without the historical end in view.

I venture to think that a more or less hurried investigation cannot be final in matters of topography when the questions involved are very compli-



cated, and of the topographical questions of which I have knowledge, either from my own investigations or those of others, I know of none so complicated as those connected with Sphakteria.

Circumstances rendered it necessary for me to do the work in the summer, and the actual survey was made between the 4th and the 18th of August of the year 1895. For the work at Sphakteria I could have found time at Christmas, but I hoped to do similar work at Delium and, possibly, Mantinea. I was variously advised as to the possibilities of work in the Greek summer. My brief experience leads me to believe that if you can stand great heat, and take ordinary precautions as to food and drink, you can travel safely in districts not peculiarly malarious. But if you have to work in the neighbourhood of a marshy, muddy lagoon like that of Osmyn Aga, which lies to the north of the Bay of Navarino, then the summer is not the time at which the work should be done.

The depths in feet noted on my map are taken from the Admiralty survey.

The eastern shore of the Lagoon of Osmyn Aga is only approximately given, but is marked in what must be very nearly its actual position. There is a great bed of reeds at that end of the lagoon some ten or fifteen feet high, which prevented me from getting accurate sights on to that shore. I had intended to determine its exact position, but when I finished the important portion of the lagoon and the hills of Palaeo-Kastro and Agio Nikolo after four days' work, and required half a day more to complete the east shore of the lagoon, I was warned that five deaths had taken place from malarial fever among the scanty population of the shores of the lake during the brief time I had been upon it. No one in its neighbourhood lives to be over forty, and it is only the severe stress of poverty which induces any one to reside near it, it being of value as a fishery. It seemed probable that I should have the fever myself, so I worked hard at the Island of Sphagia in order to get it finished before I went down.

After consideration I determined to adopt as far as possible the historical rather than the topographical order in the argument.

I have adopted the English equivalents of the Greek letters in the spelling of proper names, save that I have taken the letter *y* to represent the Greek *upsilon*.

The frequent use of the words 'possibly,' 'probably,' 'almost certainly,' etc., may be almost wearisome, but is absolutely unavoidable in a paper of this kind.

Before entering upon a description of the country round Navarino it will be well to state exactly the application of the geographical names which it will be necessary to use in the course of it.

*Navarino* was a few years ago the name of the town now called Pylos. It is situated on the east side of the south entrance of the bay. The name Navarino is attributed to the fact that certain Navarrese mercenaries were

settled there in the time of the Frankish dominion.<sup>1</sup> The recent change of name is due to the zeal for antiquity prevalent in modern Greece. The Pylos of Homer and Thucydides was, however, several miles distant from the site of the modern town. For clearness' sake I shall call the town by its former name of Navarino.

*Sphagiu* is the name of the reputed Sphakteria, the long narrow island which shuts in the bay on the west.

*Palaeo-Kastro* (also called *Palaeo-Avarino*) derives its name from the ruins of a mediaeval castle of large dimensions situated on its summit. It is the commonly reputed Koryphasion.

*Agio Nikolo* is the name of the hill north of the last mentioned, divided from it by the small bay of Voithio-Kilia.

The *Lagoon* will be spoken of as the *Lagoon or Lake of Osmyn Aga*.

It will be seen on reference to the map that the Bay of Navarino is landlocked save for the broad entrance on the south. It is extremely deep, the greatest depth being something over 200 feet, and depths of 90 feet being found quite close in shore. As far as can be seen there is no reason whatever to suppose that its size and appearance generally are very different at the present time from what they were 400 years before Christ.

The south entrance, which is more than three-quarters of a mile wide, cannot within the historical period have been appreciably narrower than at present. It is extraordinarily deep for an entrance channel to a bay. Did the channel lead into a sea with a rushing tide it would be inconceivable that such a change could have taken place in it since the year 400 B.C. as to turn such a passage as Thucydides describes into such a channel as now exists, and in a tideless sea like the Mediterranean the inconceivability of such a thing having happened is very much greater. A few facts will show the force of this remark. The strait is, as has been said, three-quarters of a mile wide: over 200 feet deep in the middle: 60 feet deep under the cliffs of Sphagia; 90 feet deep close in shore on the side of the mainland. It is possible, but improbable, that 2000 years ago the island of Sphagia may have extended continuously to the detached rock on which the Light House stands, but it is quite impossible, if Thucydides' statement be correct, that this can have been the channel to which he refers as having existed, as he supposed, to the south of the island he calls Sphakteria.<sup>2</sup>

The northern channel between Sphagia and Palaeo-Kastro is, as will be seen, very narrow. Towards the sea it is deep, but the most remarkable fact with regard to it is that at the end towards the bay it is easily fordable, there being only about two feet of water. This ford is perhaps 250 yards across from shore to shore, its breadth being apparently from forty to fifty

<sup>1</sup> Professor Curtius, *Peloponnesos* i. 86, derives the name from a settlement of Avars in this region at the beginning of the seventh century after Christ.

Thuc. iv. 8. 6.

yards. On either side the water deepens very rapidly, and on the side towards the bay, close to the Tortori rocks, the depth of ninety feet is found. There is a tradition that this shallow ford is due to the fact that the Turks, after the battle of Lepanto, when the remnant of their fleet took refuge in this bay, blocked up this north entrance of the harbour with stones and sunken vessels. This tradition is noted in the Admiralty survey. Whether it be true or not cannot now be determined, except, possibly, by reference to Venetian naval archives. My own impression is that a bar is gradually forming across the Sikia Channel, similar to that which has closed the Voithio-Kilia Channel of former times.

The island of Sphagia, which is usually identified with the ancient Sphakteria, presents probably at the present day to all intents the same appearance and characteristics that it presented 2000 years ago. The depth of water close in shore on every side of it forbids the supposition that the wear and tear of the sea can have had much effect upon its outline. Its length is two and three-quarter miles, its breadth varying from one-third to half a mile. Its area is about one square mile or 640 acres. The north end of the island consists of a short ridge running east and west with a dip in the middle of it, having its highest point at the east extremity. This point is, moreover, the highest summit of the island, having a height of about 500 feet. From this summit to the bay on the east the descent is perpendicular—a magnificent cliff—save that between the summit and the edge of the cliff is a hollow whose bottom is below the level of the cliff edge, and from which a second line of cliff of no great height extends to the summit. The north face of the ridge towards the Sikia Channel is steep but easily climbable, and the west face is the same. The south slope towards the low-lying part of the island is less steep than the slope on the north.

The south end of the island is, roughly speaking, a plateau with an elevation of some 150 feet above sea level, but having on its northern edge two hills which rise to about 300 feet. The shores of this part of the island are for the most part perpendicular cliffs from 100 to 150 feet high.

Between the plateau and the northern ridge lies a portion of the island amounting to about one-half the area of the whole. Along the east edge or bay shore of this portion runs a ridge connecting the southern plateau with the north ridge. It is close to that shore, and forms a great line of cliffs along it, with a height varying from 300 to 100 feet. There is one break in the ridge, right opposite the Panagia, noted in the map as the Panagia Gap. This ridge on its western side slopes steeply down to the long stretch of low-lying land which forms the greater part of the area of this portion of the island, whose coast towards the sea is low-lying but rocky. The island is uninhabited. There is a house close to the chapel of Panagia, in which a priest sometimes lodges. The amount of cultivation is insignificant, amounting to little more than an acre in all. The rock of which the island is composed is largely *πῶρος* limestone. The surface is covered with low scrub from one to three feet high, with trees scattered in

clumps and singly here and there. These trees do not in any case exceed a height of fifteen feet. They are, as might be expected, most numerous on the low ground.

On the side towards the bay a landing can only be effected at four points:—

(1) Near the Tortori Rocks.

(2) The Panagia landing, the best and most frequently used, giving good access to the island through the Panagia Gap.

(3) The Santa Rosa landing, good in itself, but communicating with the main portion of the island by a somewhat difficult pathway.

(4) The South landing, not capable of use save in calm weather, but offering easy communication with the south end of the island.

On the side towards the sea landing would be possible in calm weather

(1) on the Sikia Channel.

(2) on the low, rocky shore from the north-west cape and the bay north of Gadaro point.

(3) on a similar short stretch of shore between Gadaro point and the cape next south of it.

Landing on any other part of the shore of the island is practically impossible.

Palaeo-Kastro, the reputed Koryphasion, is 450 feet high.<sup>3</sup> Its highest point is towards, but not at, its north end. The east side towards the Lagoon of Osmyn Aga is an unclimbable cliff extending with varying height from the Sikia Channel to the Bay of Voithio-Kilia, with but one break towards its north end. A narrow rocky path leads round the south end of it on the Sikia Channel. The north face of the hill is a slope broken by a cliff of considerable height. The west face towards the sea is a very steep slope, partially broken by a cliff of no great height. The south face is a long slope which is not very steep until the summit of the hill is neared.

Landing would be possible, except in rough weather, on the Sikia Channel and the south portion of the west coast towards the sea.

It is when we turn to the lagoon of Osmyn Aga that we have to deal with the crucial question in the topography of this region. In its present condition it is a shallow lake, only a few feet deep at most, covering an area of between one and two square miles. On its north side it is bounded by the alluvial plain of Lykos. On its east side is a great bed of reeds and an alluvial plain extending to the foot of the hills which rise sharply from it. From these hills numerous streams enter the lake, but in the month of August they are without water, save the river Jalova. In August of last year the latter was flowing into the bay, but it is, so it was said, at times

<sup>3</sup> Both Leake and Curtius (probably following Leake) speak of it as 800 feet high, a notable example of the dangers of topography at sight.

diverted into the lagoon. The west side of the lake comes within from one to two hundred yards of the low cliffs of Agio Nikolo. From the Bay of Voithio-Kilia it is separated by a semicircular sand-bar, two-thirds of the surface of which is covered with sand-hills, while the north third is also composed of sand, on the surface at any rate, but is flat and low-lying. The Lagoon comes close up to the cliffs of Palaco-Kastro, even in summer. On the south side it is separated from the Bay of Navarino by a strip of sand and alluvium, of which the general characteristics are that its shores towards the lagoon and bay consist of sand-hills, whilst between these sand-hills runs a long strip of alluvial ground. On the bay side of this sand-bar the water deepens rapidly, the ten fathom line being quite close in. There are openings into the lake through the sand-bar at the end towards Palaco-Kastro. They are provided with dams, which are sometimes opened in summer to let water into the lake. In August, 1895, the water of the lake was, as near as could be calculated with the instruments used in the survey, about one metre below sea level. This measurement may not be quite accurate, but the bed of the lagoon is certainly below the level of the neighbouring sea. The ground on which the lagoon stands is a sandy alluvium.

The great questions are, What is the origin of this lagoon? and What was its condition at the time when the events at Sphakteria took place? It is of the utmost importance to settle this matter, because if it was in existence at the time at which the events narrated by Thucydides took place, it must enter into any consideration of the reliability or otherwise of the narrative.

Perhaps the clearest mode of stating the question will be to give first the views of previous investigators, and then mention the facts which came to the notice of the writer of this paper in the course of his own investigation.

The views to be considered are those of Col. Leake, Captain Smyth (who gave Arnold much information), Prof. E. Curtius, and Mr. Tozer. It is needless to say that all these writers wrote from personal knowledge of the region, though in some cases that knowledge was derived from a very brief sojourn there.

Colonel Leake says:<sup>4</sup>—‘The lagoon encompasses all the eastern side of the hill of Coryphasium, and is separated from the harbour of Navarin by another sandy stripe of land, in which there is a narrow opening which forms the communication between the harbour and the lagoon: there is a sandy level between the hill and the lagoon, both at the northern and at the southern extremity of the promontory.’ Col. Leake then quotes Pausanias<sup>5</sup> (whose account of Pylos will be referred to later). ‘It is here seen (continues Colonel Leake), that Pausanias, like Thucydides, says not a word of the lagoon near Coryphasium, which now forms so remarkable a feature in the topography of Navarin: we may confidently conclude, therefore, that it is of recent origin. The mode in which such shallow maritime salt lakes (by the ancients called λιμνοθάλατται or στομάλιμναι) are formed

<sup>4</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, vol. i. p. 413.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan., *Morea*, ch. 36.

in process of time on low sandy shores is well known: and the frequency of their occurrence on the coasts of the Mediterranean renders the supposition of the ancient non-existence of the lagoon the more probable in the present instance. The peninsula of Pylus must in that case have been surrounded anciently with a sandy plain as Pausanias describes it, and thus the epithet of Homer becomes so much the more applicable to the Coryphasian Pylus.'

Without at present entering on the particular question of the formation of the Lagoon at Pylos, it is impossible to leave unchallenged Colonel Leake's assumption as to the mode in which such lagoons are formed. No one would attempt to deny that such lagoons are at a late stage of their existence supplied by means of land water rather than sea water. It is when we come to their previous history that Colonel Leake's apparent though not explicitly stated theory breaks down before the evidence which is written in large type all round the shores of the Mediterranean. On this very western coast of Greece we can see such lagoons both already formed and in process of formation, namely at the mouth of the Alpheus between Katakolo and Pyrgos, at Missolonghi and on the north shore of the Gulf of Arta (Pl. I.); in fact at every river mouth on this shore of this tideless sea where there is some sort of protection from the wash of the sea currents. What has happened at these places on a large scale, has happened elsewhere on a smaller one, the two factors determining the scale being the amount of protection afforded by the local natural features, and the size of the river or stream at whose mouth the lagoons are formed. At Missolonghi, where both factors are strongly in evidence, the work goes on with great rapidity and on a large scale. The process may be seen there both in a finished and unfinished stage. The first point to be noted is this: that these lagoons are formed on sites which were formerly part of the open sea. Without attempting to enter into any detail of the dynamics of the question, the process of formation may be described as beginning with the deposit of detritus at a point near or off the river mouth or coast, and in a line at right angles to the line of advance of the waves upon the coast [*i.e.* parallel to the waves themselves] or in some cases by the deposit of sea-borne sand in a bar off the coast. This deposit extends gradually in the form of a long narrow bank until it ends by enclosing a piece of water which was formerly a part of the sea. In the course of time this piece of water becomes filled with detritus and what was lagoon becomes a portion of the mainland. In some places, owing to local circumstances, such as currents, etc., the lagoon formation in this process of the deposit of detritus can be only imperfectly seen, as for instance at Thermopylae, where the peculiar current of the Euripo or Talanta channel modifies the general rule. Surely *this* lagoon formation is something very different from what Colonel Leake would have us suppose. The amount of *débris* brought down by rivers in a land like Greece or even Italy is out of all proportion to anything of the kind we can observe in our own country. Greece is mountainous, therefore its rivers are rapid and do not deposit their detritus in the way that slow-flowing rivers would do. Furthermore the rivers of that country are subject to torrential floods the like of which are

rare with us. So much for the general question. It would seem as if Colonel Leake had begged it somewhat. He has also, it would seem, begged the question with regard to his quotation from Pausanias. Pausanias says<sup>6</sup> 'ὕπόφαμμός τε γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ τῶν Πυλίων χώρα,' which Colonel Leake translates 'for all around it (Pylos) the country is sandy.' It is worthy of note that Colonel Leake only spent one day in his examination of the region.<sup>7</sup>

In Arnold's *Thucydides* is, as is well known, a long note on the vexed question of Sphakteria. When the difficulties which beset any one who deals with intricate topographical questions from the map only are considered, it is impossible for any one who knows the region well not to admire the marvellous correctness with which the difficulties connected with it are stated in that note. It shows how exceedingly keen and able a judge Dr. Arnold must have been on questions of topography, and it shows too that he knew enough of the matter to appreciate the limits beyond which it is dangerous to transgress without personal acquaintance with the ground under discussion.

Dr. Arnold derived his information from Captain Smyth, who had made a survey of the region for the Admiralty, and therefore must have been more or less intimately acquainted with its physical features. Of the lagoon Arnold says: 'I consulted Captain Smyth on this point (Col. Leake's theory) and he was decidedly of opinion that the lake was gradually filling up, instead of being of recent formation, and that its history was like that of the Athenian port of Cantharus "which through neglect, its low situation, and the alluvial depositions of a small stream running into it, is now become a mere lagoon, unfit even to receive the small vessels in use among the modern Greeks." If this be the case, the lake was probably in ancient times not only deeper, but more extensive than at present, so as to come up to the very eastern foot of the ridge of hills which runs parallel to the coast; and, as even at present it is larger than the port of the Piræus, Thucydides might well have called it a "harbour of considerable size."'

In his account of this region Prof. Curtius contradicts himself in a most remarkable way with reference to the lagoon. Speaking of the ridge of which Sphakteria, Palæo-Kastro, and Agio Nikolo are fragments, and which, as he says, must have been at some remote geological period connected with the range on the mainland which runs from Navarino to Modon, he says:<sup>8</sup> 'It is however, pierced by the sea in two places' (south entrance of Navarino Bay and Sikia Channel), 'so that a part of it has become the elongated island of Sphakteria: further the sea current, penetrating through the two openings, has washed out the sandy country which lay behind the coast, and thus hollowed out inside the coast island a great basin with a semicircular line of coast. . . . It appears that there once existed three openings, and three connections between the outer and the inner sea: the northernmost of them has however, been silted up again, and so the Island above Sphakteria (i.e. Palæo-

<sup>6</sup> Paus. iv. 36, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Leake, *Moræa*. p. 491.

<sup>8</sup> Curt. *Pelop.* ii. p. 173.

Kastro) *has become a promontory.*' The channel referred to is of course that through the Bay of Voithio-Kilia.

Further on Dr. Curtius says:<sup>9</sup> 'To the changes which this region has passed through since classical times belongs also probably the formation of the Lagoon, the great salt lake of Osmyn Aga: *also the circular bay of Voithio-Kilia, which is now being gradually filled up again, does not seem to have been existent, otherwise the Attic fleet would not have gone to anchor behind Proté, and Thucydides would not have said so explicitly that no harbour existed outside the harbour of Pylos.*' [The italics are not of the original.]

What does Curtius mean? If Voithio-Kilia did not exist in Thucydides' time, it certainly did not exist at a previous period. Nor can it have been both existent and non-existent at the same time. What he says about Voithio-Kilia in relation to the Athenian fleet shows that Dr. Curtius knows nothing of the nature of that little bay. Everything about it points to the fact that as a bay it can never have been possibly used as a harbour for a fleet. Inside the entrance it is very shallow, in fact there are only a few feet of water.

Professor Curtius then says: 'If we suppose, instead of that extensive stretch of water, the existence of sandflats, the name of "sandy" Pylos appears still more justified.'

Mr. Tozer takes the same view,<sup>10</sup> viz. that the site of the lagoon was a sandy plain in the time of Thucydides. He says:—

'At present a lagoon bounds the E. side of this rocky height (Palaeo-Kastro), but as there has been a tendency for such pieces of water to form all along this coast since classical times, there is reason to believe that the area was formerly covered with sand.'

Such then are the views which have been expressed with regard to the origin of the lagoon by previous observers. It will now be well to take the evidence obtainable on the spot. The general question of the formation of such lagoons has been already dealt with. It is written, as has been said already, on the western shore of Greece in type large enough for all to read.

(1) It seems impossible to doubt that Professor Curtius is right in his first sketch of the ancient geography of this region. There is the plainest evidence that the Bay of Voithio-Kilia was originally an entrance into a northern extension of the great Bay. It may be said, 'Why may it not be supposed that the Voithio-Kilia gap in the cliffs has been formed since the time of Thucydides?' The answer is, firstly, that the amount of wear and tear in the rocks at the entrance of that bay which must be assumed under such an hypothesis is in the highest degree unlikely to have taken place within the stated period. Secondly, that if such an amount of wear and tear were assumed in the case of the Voithio-Kilia opening, it would be extremely illogical to suppose that the Sikia Channel was open at that time; and, if it were not, Palaeo-Kastro and Sphagia were one.

<sup>9</sup> Curt. *Pelop.* ii. p. 180.

<sup>10</sup> Tozer, *Lectures on the Geography of Greece.*



(2) Of the two factors necessary for the deposit of detritus both are present. The north end of the Bay would be protected from sea currents by Agio Nikolo and Palaeo-Kastro, and any detritus deposited there would remain. The river Jalova when its water is high must bring down like other Greek rivers a very large amount of solid matter, and though it does now partly discharge into the bay, yet it also has a mouth on the lagoon, and at one time the latter may well have been the sole mouth, until the lagoon got choked. But it is not from the river Jalova only that the detritus must enter the lagoon. The plain of Lykos rises with a gentle slope for several miles to the north of it. In the rains this alluvial plain must drain into the lagoon, and the amount of solid matter which must be brought down by small streams at such a season must be very large. There are other small streams besides the river Jalova which enter the lagoon from the hills on the east side. If the solid matter brought down by these streams is not on the site of the lagoon, where is it? It cannot have got over the sand-bar into the bay. If it is there, it must have filled up some hollow, for many feet of it must have been deposited in the last 2,400 years, and that hollow must at the beginning of that period have been filled by water, since its bottom would be many feet below sea level. The lagoon is in fact on a small scale an example of what is going on on a much larger scale on the Gulf of Arta and Missolonghi.

(3) The water is brackish. One of two things must be the case. Either it is true that water is let into the lake through the openings, or it is on ground impregnated with sea salt, *i.e.* on the site of a former arm of the sea. If the water is let into the lake it is below sea level. It has already been said that measurements taken with the instruments used in the survey made the level of water in the lagoon about one metre below the level of the neighbouring sea. This calculation is not far out, but is not reliable in accuracy since the only instruments available were not such as should be used for very accurate levelling. Colonel Leake says,<sup>11</sup> and notes the fact in his map, that there was a free opening into the lagoon from the bay. Now if these things be so the bottom of the lagoon is at the present day several feet below sea level. If the sandy plain of Leake, Curtius and Tozer were there in former times, it must have been above sea level. What then has become of all those feet of sand which must have lain on the site of the present lagoon?

(4) It is hardly conceivable that any one seeing the great cliffs of Sphagia on the side towards the bay could doubt for one moment that they are water-worn, *i.e.* formed by the action of the sea in the course of ages. But the cliffs of Palaeo-Kastro resemble them in every respect save one: they are in the same line: they are peculiarly the same in characteristics, but they have in their northern half what the Sphagia cliffs have not, at any rate to the same extent, a collection of *debris*, rocks, etc., at their bottom showing that deep water has not washed them for some time past. The

<sup>11</sup> Leake, *Morée*, vol. i. p. 412.

southern half however of the great east cliff of Palaco-Kastro has very little *débris* at its bottom, and must have been washed by an arm of the sea at a comparatively recent period.<sup>12</sup>

The whole of the evidence obtainable on the spot lends almost overpowering testimony to the view that the lagoon is the remnant of what was an extension of the Bay of Navarino on the north, and furthermore such data of progress as we can obtain from parallel instances all point to the fact that in the days of Thucydides there must have been water here which would be navigable over, at any rate, a large extent of its area. Even in the deep bay itself the soundings show how quickly the river Xerias, a stream very little, if at all, larger than the Jalova, is filling up the north-east point of it, and the plain of Xerias is evidently an old arm of the sea.

The writer has felt it necessary to deal with this matter at some length, because, in the first place, the point is of considerable importance and interest in the Sphakteria question, and, in the second place, it would be foolish to contest the views of such authorities as Leake, Curtius and Tozer without showing good reason for doing so. Such then is the topographical evidence obtainable on the spot at the present day. If it is to be ignored, topography had better be done, as in former days, at home. The historical evidence will be dealt with when Thucydides' narrative is examined, but the reference in Pausanias comes rather under the head of topography and had better be dealt with here.

In the account of Pylos and its neighbourhood given by Pausanias,<sup>13</sup> he gives the following facts:—

Koryphasion is 100 stades from Mothone (Modon).

Pylos is on Koryphasion.

Pylos was founded by, etc., etc.

There is there a temple of Athene, a house said to be that of Nestor, a monument to Nestor, etc.

There is a cave within the city, etc.

Long account of Nestor's oxen [in quantity equal to all the rest of the information given about the place].

He thinks that these oxen must have been pastured at some distance from the city for the country of the Pylians is, generally speaking, somewhat sandy.<sup>14</sup>

The island of Sphakteria lies in front of the harbour.

<sup>12</sup> There are, it must be mentioned, squared stones to be found in the water of the lagoon. I examined them. Local tradition represented them as remnants of the house of Nestor. They are seemingly remains of some work, whether causeway, aqueduct or landing

place, connected with the great mediæval fortress on Palaco-Kastro.

<sup>13</sup> Paus. *Mess.* 36.

<sup>14</sup> ὑπόψαμμός τε γὰρ ἔστιν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἢ τῶν Πολίων χώρα. Paus. *Mess.* 36, 5.

The facts mentioned by the author have been thus stated at length because the whole account is a very fair specimen of the kind of topographical description we find in Pausanias. There is, of course, not a word about the lagoon or its then representative. This is at the best negative evidence. Can it be seriously argued by any one acquainted with Pausanias' method that because he does not mention some natural feature in his description of any given locality, therefore we are to assume that that natural feature did not exist in his time? How many important natural features in various localities in Greece, which we know to have been in existence in his time, should we not have to erase from the ancient map did we accept non-mention by Pausanias as evidence of their non-existence! We might as well argue that the tremendous cliff of nearly 400 feet on the land side of Koryphasion did not exist in the time of Pausanias. It is *the* natural feature of the locality which would certainly be noticed by any one interested in describing its natural characteristics. But it is not on that side of topography that Pausanias' interest lies. It is with the antiquities of Greece that he is concerned—the temples and the old legends.

The mention of the island of Sphakteria is, as the context shows, entirely in reference to Thucydides' narrative of the events which took place there. The earlier part of Thucydides, Book iv., as the *locus classicus* on the subject of Sphakteria, colours every reference to the island which we find in later classical authors. Thucydides' account of the topography with its mistake or mistakes is accepted without any question.

There is another point in reference to Pausanias which we must bear in mind. He wrote six hundred years after the events at Sphakteria took place, and it is quite possible that changes in the local circumstances had in the interval rendered the lagoon unfitted for use as a harbour. As to the deductions drawn from Homer's use of the epithet 'sandy,' this will best be dealt with when we come to discuss the site of the Homeric Pylos, and may be left for the present with the remark that, though the matter cannot be determined with certainty, yet the slight evidence at present at our disposal points to a site other than that of the Pylos which Pausanias knew as having been the site of the Homeric city.

It is impossible of course to say on the topographical evidence only what stage in this geographical evolution of the lagoon had been reached four hundred years before the Christian era. For this we shall have to have recourse to the historical evidence.

Though it is a departure from the historical in favour of the topographical order of the argument, yet it does seem that it might be convenient to the reader if the conclusion which has been arrived at on the above question be now stated. The sand-bar between the bay and the lagoon is for the greater part of its length overgrown with bushes, and for a natural feature of this kind of considerable height. At the end towards Palaco-Kastro, where the channels leading into the lake are at present situated, it is low, and the vegetation is sparse save in the usual form of sand-grasses. That the lagoon was in Thucydides' time navigable as a harbour it is impossible to doubt for

reasons which have been already stated. The historical evidence, for which of course we have to rely on Thucydides, is difficult to sift, for the reason that Thucydides did not understand the nature of the region which he attempted to describe; but on the whole it seems to point to the fact that there existed at this time a channel leading into the lagoon harbour at the low point of the sand-bar which has been mentioned, right under the cliffs of Palaeo-Kastro, and that the small amount of *débris* which has collected at the foot of this portion of these cliffs is due to the existence of this channel. The Voithio-Kilia channel was apparently already blocked, and as the detritus which has filled up the lagoon must have come largely from the north, it is highly probable, from the topographical point of view, that this was the first channel to be closed. The sand-bar between the bay and the lagoon was, then, as has been implied, in that state in which we can see the bars of many such lagoons, viz. it had nearly, but not quite, cut off the former extension of the bay from the bay itself. It must be mentioned that it is quite conceivable that, even at the present day, were the exits into the bay to become blocked in flood time, when much water must be poured into the lagoon, the water might easily force a channel over and through the north end of the semicircular sand-bar of Voithio-Kilia, and this is supported by the evidence of the Venetian historian Garzoni, whom Arnold mentions in his note as saying in his account of the capture of old Navarino (the Palaeo-Kastro) by the Venetians in the year 1686, that it stands on a high peninsular rock, being joined to the mainland by a narrow strip or tongue on its eastern side. In Garzoni's time then the lagoon was there.

Those who have read Arnold's note on Sphakteria will know that two theories with regard to the matter are there stated:—

(1) That Sphagia is Sphakteria, and consequently Palaeo-Kastro is Koryphasion.

(2) That Palaeo-Kastro is Sphakteria, and consequently Agio Nikolo is Koryphasion.

The second theory will have to be rejected on the strongest evidence. but, as the writer knows from personal experience, it is one which may possibly take hold on the imagination of those who have not seen the ground, and it will be best therefore to treat it as a possibly admissible theory until a point in the history is reached where the evidence renders its tenability impossible.

It will now be well to turn to Thucydides and compare his account closely with the actualities and possibilities of the site with special reference to these two theories; for one of them must be true, or else there can be no truth in Thucydides' narrative.

It will be plain to any one who considers the question that the existence of the lagoon harbour at that period is in favour of the theory which will have to be rejected, the Palaeo-Kastro-Sphakteria theory, since under it we should have to suppose the Voithio-Kilia to have been open, and to be the second entrance of the harbour to which Thucydides refers as having been blocked by the Peloponnesian fleet.

In the early summer of B.C. 425 the Athenians despatched a fleet<sup>15</sup> from Athens for Sicily. It consisted of forty ships. The official commanders in charge of the fleet were Eurymedon and Sophokles. Demosthenes accompanied the fleet in a technically unofficial capacity, but obtained permission to make use of it, if he thought well to do so, on the coasts of the Peloponnesos. The latter, in accordance with his commission, urged the commanders to put in at Pylos, καὶ πράξαντας ἂν δεῖ τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι,<sup>16</sup> a general expression meaning, as the sequel shows, the establishment of an ἐπιτειχισμός.

‘They refused to do this. It so happened however that a storm came on and drove the ships into Pylos. Demosthenes kept urging them forthwith to fortify the place (for he had joined the expedition for this purpose), and pointed out the plentiful supply of timber and stones, the natural strength of the position, and the deserted character both of it and of the country for a long distance round. Pylos is about 400 stades from Sparta in the land which was once Messenia, and is called by the Lacedaemonians Koryphasion. They said, however, that there were plenty of uninhabited promontories in the Peloponnese if he wished to occupy them and put the state to expense. But to him the place seemed peculiarly advantageous, there being a harbour close by, and the Messenians, he thought, who belonged to it of old, and spoke the same dialect as the Lacedaemonians, would, from it as a base, do peculiar damage, and would too be a reliable garrison of the place.’<sup>17</sup>

Any one who has seen the Bay of Navarino in a strong wind will have some difficulty in understanding how it could afford a safe refuge to the fleet in a storm. A wind from the south or south-west brings with it a dangerous sea through the broad south channel. On the north the bay is also unprotected from the fierce north wind which is the dangerous wind on this coast during the summer season. Such a wind blows straight on to the bay over the plain of Lykos. The modern harbour of Navarino consists of only one small corner on the south-east side of the bay, and it has been found necessary to protect it by a breakwater which must have cost a considerable sum of money, since it is carried out into six fathoms of water. The bay is so large that in spite of the protection afforded by Sphagia a considerable sea would be raised by a western gale. Taking the season into consideration it is highly probable that the storm was from the north. It is of course the fact that the west coast of Greece is almost destitute of harbours. At the present day the only one between Navarino and Pylos is at Katakolo, and it is

<sup>15</sup> Thuc. iv. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Ih.* iv. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ιδ.* ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ τύχην χειμῶν ἐπιγε-  
νόμενος κατήνεγκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Πύλον. καὶ  
ὁ Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἤξίου τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον  
(ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ξυνεκπλείσαι, καὶ ἀπέβαινε  
πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ξύλων τε καὶ λίθων. καὶ φύσει  
καρτερόν ἐν καὶ ἔρημον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς  
χώρας· ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίου μάλιστα ἡ Πύλος  
τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίου. καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσ-

σηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὖσι γῆ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι  
ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἣν βούληται  
καταλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν, τῷ δὲ διάφορον  
τι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον μᾶλλον, λιμένος τε  
πρυσόντος, καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἰκείους ὄντας  
αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὁμοφάνους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις  
πλεῖστον ὃν βλέπτειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὀρμαμένους, καὶ  
βεβαίους ἅμα τοῦ χωρίου φύλακας ἔπεισθα.

artificial; therefore it may be said that the fleet put into the Bay of Navarino *faute de mieux*. It may be that they drew up their vessels on the north shore of the bay, *i.e.* on the sand-bar: we are not told, however, that they did so, and the fact that the commanders had no wish save to push on with their voyage renders it probable that they anchored. But if so, we should certainly have expected, considering the length of the stay, to hear something of the dangerous and difficult nature of the anchorage, such as we hear later on in the story when this same fleet returns to the bay; and yet Thucydides in his highly detailed account of the circumstances relating to Pylos says not a word of it. Is it not at least possible, if not probable, that this is because the refuge was not the Bay of Navarino, but the harbour of which the lagoon of Osmyn Aga is a remnant, where, anchored below Palaeo-Kastro, the ships would be protected on the west by that hill and on the north by the hill of Agio Nikolo, whilst on the south the sand-bar would form an effective breakwater. There is a great deal in the remark which Arnold makes in his note—that the Bay of Navarino is totally unlike the ancient Greek notion of a harbour. The question of the site of Pylos is one of great difficulty. In the first place: Is the Pylos to which Thucydides refers to be taken as what we may call the Homeric, or is it some town of that name dating from the times of Messenian independence of Sparta? If it is the former then we have something to go upon. There are traces, though very faint, of Cyclopean work on the hill of Agio Nikolo, of which a detailed account will be given later. On the hill of Palaeo-Kastro there are apparently none, though there are traces of Greek buildings of a later date. Schliemann did some tentative digging at various points on the latter hill, but he evidently gave it up as useless.

- The places where he dug are still visible. Still the construction of the great mediaeval fortress on the hill may well have obliterated all traces of Pylos if they ever existed there.

But if we examine the ancient authorities on this region, Homer, Thucydides, Pausanias and Strabo, we find traces at any rate of four successive cities of this name in this neighbourhood, and of these it was not the ruins of the Homeric city which existed on Koryphasion in Thucydides' time.<sup>13</sup>

Thucydides tells us in this passage that the Lacedaemonians called Pylos by the name Koryphasion. From its meaning, the Bergspitze, or Peak, the name would certainly apply more naturally to the hill of Palaeo-Kastro with its height of 457 feet, than to that of Agio Nikolo, which is only 180 feet high, though both stand out clearly from the low ground of the lagoon.

We now come to a passage of significance when examined in the light of the local topography. It must be remembered that the real question we are at present trying to solve is whether the Athenians fortified Agio Nikolo or Palaeo-Kastro. It will be well to take the text of chapter 4 and that of the latter half of chapter 5 together.

‘As he [Demosthenes] failed to win over either the generals or the soldiers to his plan (and he had afterwards communicated it to the taxiarchs

<sup>13</sup> For further details *c.* p. 24.

also), he was kept in inactivity owing to the bad weather, until the impulse seized on the soldiers themselves whose time hung heavy on their hands, to collect and complete the fortification of the place. So they set to work without any iron tools for masonry work, but bringing stones picked up on the spot and placing them as each happened to fit in. The mortar, wherever it was required, having no hods, they brought on their backs, leaning forward so as to prevent it as much as possible from dropping, and clasping their two hands behind them to prevent its falling. By every manner of means they hastened to be beforehand with the Lacedaemonians by finishing the fortification of the most assailable points, before they could come to the rescue of their territory: for the major part of the position was strong by nature and required no wall.<sup>19</sup>

'The Athenians after fortifying the side of the place towards the mainland, and the other points, where it was especially required, in six days, left Demosthenes with five ships to guard the place, whilst with the majority of the fleet they speeded on their voyage to Kerkyra and Sicily.'<sup>20</sup>

In these two passages we have the following facts, from which the topography may be deduced:—

(1) The stones used for building the fortifications were picked up on the spot.

(2) The soldiers *voluntarily* carried up the mud or mortar on their backs.<sup>21</sup>

(3) They paid special, if not exclusive, attention to the parts most open to attack (*τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα*), 'for the major portion of the position was of such natural strength as to require no wall.'

(4) They spent six days in fortifying *τοῦ χωρίου τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον καὶ ἂ μάλιστα ἔδει*.

Respecting:—

(1) Stones are plentiful both on Palaeo-Kastro and Agio Nikolo.

(2) The voluntary character of the work would render it exceedingly unlikely that the soldiers should carry it up to the top of Palaeo-Kastro.

<sup>19</sup> ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοιώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐσέπεσε περιστάσιν ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἐγχειρήσαντες εἰργάζοντο, σιδηρία μὲν λιθουργὰ οὐκ ἔχοντες, λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους, καὶ ξυνετίθεσαν ὡς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνει· καὶ τὸν πηλὸν, εἴ που δεοί χρῆσθαι, ἀγγείων ἀπορία ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου ἔφερον, ἐγκεκυφότες τε, ὡς μάλιστα μέλλοι ἐπιμένειν, καὶ τῷ χεῖρι ἐς τοὐπίσω ξυμπλέκοντες, ὕπως μὴ ἀποπίπτει. παντὶ τε τρόπῳ ἡπείγοντο φθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα ἐξεργασάμενοι, πρὶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι τὸ γὰρ πλέον

τοῦ χωρίου αὐτὸ καρτερὸν ὑπῆρχε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχους.—Thuc. iv. 4.

<sup>20</sup> τειχίσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ χωρίου τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον καὶ ἂ μάλιστα ἔδει ἐν ἡμέραις ἑξ, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην μετὰ νεῶν πέντε αὐτοῦ φύλακα καταλείπονσι, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι ναυσὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν ἡπείγοντο.—Thuc. iv. 5, 2.

<sup>21</sup> If the sandy plain of Leake, Curtius, and Toza existed at this time on the land side of Palaeo-Kastro, where did this πηλός come from that the Athenians found so handy?

It can have come from nowhere else than the muddy shores of the lagoon harbour.

The topography of that hill however renders it quite certain that the only fortifications which Thucydides mentions as having been constructed on it were quite low down.

(3) Applies in the most striking way to Palaeo-Kastro. The great line of cliff on the land side renders it a peculiarly strong position and the difficulty of landing on the sea side is also remarkable.

To Agio Nikolo the expression is with difficulty applicable.

(4) Applied to Palaeo-Kastro the fortification of τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον can only have been a wall closing the gap at the north end of the east cliff. This work would have to be about 170 yards long. We know that there was another wall low down the south slope, under which the ships were drawn up behind a stockade.<sup>22</sup>

On the land side this hill may also be approached by a narrow path close to the Sikia Channel round the point where the cliff on the east side abuts on the water, a path which a few men could hold against any number of assailants. The fortification of this would be the simplest matter possible, and was probably provided for by an extension of the south wall.

It will be seen on reference to the contoured map that the hill of Agio Nikolo is by no means a position of remarkable strength. Its eastern side towards the lagoon is bordered by a cliff from thirty to forty feet high. This cliff is in some places perpendicular, in others easily climbable. It has evidently been formed, like the east cliff of Palaeo-Kastro, by the wash of the water of the former north extension of the bay. The north slope of the hill is an easy one to the very summit, and is not broken in any way. The south slope is partially broken by a cliff which forms the north side of the little bay which will be found marked on the map. To defend this hill a wall 440 yards long would be required on the north: the east cliff would require a wall or walls at its many climbable parts, and on the south slope a wall some 150 yards long would be required between the end of the little bay cliff and the south end of the east cliff. Taking into consideration the fact that the position is not by nature a strong one, and that the defending walls were at the best of an emergency character, it seems highly improbable that this hill could have been successfully defended by a very inferior force against what was evidently a determined series of attacks on the part of a greatly superior force, even bearing in mind the notorious incompetence displayed by the Lacedaemonians in attacks on walls.

The blocking of the channels into the harbour, a statement which Thucydides makes in such a way that it cannot be ignored, is in favour of the Palaeo-Kastro Sphakteria theory. If Agio Nikolo was Koryphasion then Palaeo-Kastro was an island, and the Voithio-Kilia Channel open, and this channel and the one through the sand-bar from the bay into the lagoon harbour were the channels which were blocked.

But it will be well, even at the expense of anticipating the history

<sup>22</sup> Thuc. iv. 9, 1.



somewhat, to put the Palaeo-Kastro-Sphakteria theory out of the way, in order that the complications of the story may not be further complicated by a theory which will have in the end to be surrendered.

It will be seen that on the question of the identity of Agio Nikolo with Koryphasion the theory cannot be rejected absolutely, though, on the whole, probability is against it.

But it will also be understood that the above question is inseparably connected with the question of the identity of Sphakteria. On that it is impossible to speak too emphatically. Any one who has read the description of the events which took place on Sphakteria and who has visited the island of Sphagia can have no manner of doubt as to the identity of the two. There is a certain resemblance of course between the natural features of Sphagia and Palaeo-Kastro, but the story which applies in every detail and consideration to the former is in many respects incomprehensible when applied to the latter. It is a story of remarkable accuracy, and of such fidelity to the topographical circumstances of Sphagia that it would be reasonable to decide the question on this evidence only. If we try to apply it to Palaeo-Kastro we are met with serious difficulties:—

(1) If the Spartans were on the low ground, the Athenian landing could not have been conducted in secret, and would have been opposed, almost certainly with success.

(2) The landing on the Bay side would almost certainly have to be determined as having taken place at the other end of the island from that on the sea side, which would make Thucydides' tale incomprehensible.

(3) The light-armed could never have used the east ridge of Palaeo-Kastro in the way that Thucydides describes.

(4) The area of ground is far too small for the numbers engaged in the operations described.

We must now turn to the other theory. It will be seen from what has been already said that there are two main facts which have to be accepted in the opinion of the writer by any one who would attempt to unravel the mystery of Sphakteria.

They are:

(1) That there was certainly a navigable piece of water on the site of the present lagoon, and that it probably had an entrance into the Bay of Navarino at the inner end of the Sikia Channel, under the cliff of Palaeo-Kastro. That a former channel through the Bay of Voithio-Kilia was already blocked by a sand-bar at the time the events under consideration took place.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> In the terms of the armistice concluded between Athens and Sparta in 423 B.C. is a passage deserving at any rate of attention with

reference to this estimate of the topography of the lagoon:—

τάδε (δὲ) ἔδοξε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

(2) That Sphagia is Sphakteria.

And consequently (3) that Palaeo-Kastro is Koryphasion.

It is only by a close examination of Thucydides' story that we can solve the apparent incongruity in the co-existence of facts (1) and (2) and understand how it was that Thucydides never came to apprehend fact (1).

We left Demosthenes with his five ships and their crews on Koryphasion, defended by a more or less complete system of fortification.

The news of the occupation of Koryphasion caused such alarm at Sparta that the army of invasion then in Attica was immediately withdrawn.<sup>24</sup>

'After the Peloponnesians had retired from Attica, the Spartiates themselves and the Perioekí nearest at hand went forthwith to the rescue of Pylos, but the other Lacedaemonians were later in starting on their march, having recently returned from the other expedition. They sent round word through the Peloponnese to come with all speed to help against Pylos, and sent also for their sixty ships at Kerkyra, which arrived at Pylos after being conveyed across the isthmus of Leucas, and slipping unobserved by the Athenian vessels at Zakynthos. The land force was already on the spot.'<sup>25</sup>

We have certain significant facts in this passage:—

ξυμμάχοις, ἐὰν σπορὰς ποιῶνται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν μένειν ἑκατέρους ἔχοντας ἅπερ νῦν ἔχομεν, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Κορυφασίῳ ἐντὸς τῆς Βουφράδος καὶ τοῦ Τομέως μένοντας, etc.—Thuc. iv. 118, 3.

The natural bounds set to a garrison on Koryphasion would be the sand-bar of the Voithio-Kilia on the north, and the channel from the lagoon harbour through the sand-bar separating it from Navarino Bay. Voithio-Kilia = 'the ox's belly.' It is curious that we have the same root *βοῦς* in *Βουφράς*. Is the modern name a partial survival of the ancient one? Is it possible that *Τομέως* refers to the narrow cutting or channel into the bay? Curtius dismisses the idea as improbable, but puts forward in its place a theory still more improbable. His reasons for dismissing it are: (1) that the Athenians would not have assented to confinement within Koryphasion, with its deficiency in water supply. (2) That there is mention of a mountain *Tomaion* near Pylos. The answer to this (1) is that the Athenians were in possession of Sphakteria, upon which we know there was a water supply: to (2) that the authority for the existence of a mountain so named is Stephanos of Byzantium, who, as far as can be ascertained, flourished about 500 years after Christ. Curtius identifies it with the conical hill over two miles south of Navarino, i.e. about seven miles from Koryphasion, and certainly that is the only hill in the neighbourhood to which the name could be conceived as

in any way applicable. Surely, considering the serious view which the Spartans took of the *ἐπιτειχισμός* at Pylos, it is hardly likely that they would have assented to an extension of the range of the garrison beyond the natural borders of the place; it is still more improbable that they would have assented to an arrangement such as the fixing of the boundary at this mountain would imply, giving the garrison the run of a large portion of the Messenian mainland. It seems far more likely that *Τομέως* refers to the channel mentioned, or possibly to the knife-like shape of the sand-bar separating the lagoon harbour from the bay. We never hear of the garrison having established themselves in occupation of the country round Pylos. We are only told of plundering raids, and the words *ἅπερ νῦν ἔχομεν* can only refer to Koryphasion within something like the limits of the original occupation.

<sup>24</sup> *Ib.* iv. 6.

<sup>25</sup> ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Πελοποννησίων, οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιόικων εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων βραδυτέρα ἐρίγνετο ἢ ἔφοδος, ἄρτι ἀφικνέμενων ἀφ' ἐτέρας στρατείας, περιήγγελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον βοηθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Πύλον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ ναῦς σφῶν τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἔπεμψαν, αἱ ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν, καὶ λαβοῦσαι τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Πύλον· παρὴν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸν στρατός.—*Ib.* iv. 8, 1, 2.

(1) No expedition against Pylos seems to have started from Sparta until after the army had arrived from Attica.

Demosthenes, then, and the men left with him must have had time to strengthen their defences on Koryphasion, a time of which we may be sure they made use.

(2) The troops which had returned from Attica did not march to Pylos with the rest. The first land attack, then, was possibly carried out by a fraction of what was subsequently the besieging army.

The Peloponnesian fleet of sixty vessels had now arrived, but Demosthenes managed to send news of his dangerous position to the Athenian fleet at Zakynthos, which came without delay.

‘The Lacedaemonians made preparations with a view to attacking the fortifications by land and sea, expecting that they would have no difficulty in taking a structure which had been hurriedly built and had but a small garrison.’<sup>26</sup>

The points at which the attacks were made will be best described in dealing with the actual attacks.

‘As they expected that the Athenian vessels from Zakynthos would come to the rescue, they purposed, if they should fail to take the place (before their arrival), also to block the entrances of the harbour so that it might not be possible for the Athenians to come to anchor in it.’<sup>27</sup>

If the lagoon harbour is the crucial point in the topography of the region, this is, as is well known, the crucial point of the history of events. There is no question as to what Thucydides supposed the nature of the entrances of the harbour to have been. In the next sentence Thucydides declares his view of the matter still more explicitly:—

‘For the island called Sphacteria, which stretches along one side of the harbour and lies near in, renders it safe and makes the entrances narrow, having on the one side, namely over against the fortification of the Athenians and Pylos, a passage for two ships at a time, and on the other, towards the mainland on the other side, a passage for eight or nine. . . . Their intention was, then, to close the entrances with ships placed close together with their prows outwards.’<sup>28</sup>

In the above passages we have details with regard to the nature of the entrances and also two statements of the *intention* to close them in the manner described.

<sup>26</sup> οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς τῷ τειχίσματι προσβαλοῦντες κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐλπίζοντες ῥαδίως αἰρήσειν οἰκοδόμημα διὰ ταχέων εἰργασμένον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων.—Thuc. iv. 8, 4.

<sup>27</sup> προσδεχόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ζακύνθου τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν βοήθειαν ἐν νῶ εἶχον, ἣν ἄρα μὴ πρότερον ἔλωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι, ὥπως μὴ ἦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐφορμίσασθαι ἐς αὐτόν.—Ib. iv. 8, 5.

<sup>28</sup> ἡ γὰρ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη τὸν τε λιμένα παρατείνουσα καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη ἐχυρὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους στενοὺς, τῇ μὲν δυοῖν νεῶν διάπλουν, κατὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῇ δὲ, πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἡπειρον, ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔσπλους ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντιπρώροις βύξην κλήσειν ξμελλον.—Ib. iv. 8, 6 περιγ.

That they were actually so closed we gather from a later passage in chapter 13.

The difficulty raised by this passage is so great that one is tempted to dismiss it with the remark that Thucydides has made a serious mistake, and that for historical purposes this statement of his with regard to the blocking up of these channels must be ignored. That there is a mistake is certain. The question is (1) Is it historical or topographical? (2) What is its magnitude? Were there absolutely nothing in the topography of the locality to support the statement in any way, it would be necessary, taking the whole history of the operations into consideration, to acquiesce in the view of those who would ignore it. But how can we so acquiesce when we have in the entrance of the Bay of Voithio-Kilia and the Sikia Channel two channels which correspond to all intents and purposes with those to which Thucydides refers? That the exact truth of the statement as to the number of ships required to block them would be in any case open to doubt will be admitted, but that Thucydides believed the channels to be exceedingly narrow is, of course, evident. The entrance to the Voithio-Kilia is 172 yards broad, but the fair-way has only a breadth of some 140 yards, owing to the existence of certain rocks on the south side. The Sikia Channel is 132 yards broad at the point where the east cliff of Palaeo-Kastro abuts on it. The fair-way would in this case amount to nearly the breadth of the channel. After seeing the locality it is not possible to doubt that these are the channels to which Thucydides refers, but, taking the whole history of the operations into consideration, it is impossible to suppose that the reasons he gives for blocking these channels are, topographically speaking, correct. In dealing with Thucydides we cannot place that reliance on purely topographical statements which we can on historical statements which topography goes far to support. The blocking of the channels is explicitly stated as a historical fact several times. If it were not true there must have been many people in Athens who would be able to refute it, and taking Thucydides as we find him, we may feel a high degree of certainty that he would never have made so explicit and detailed a statement as this without having good grounds for so doing.

Any one who has seen the neighbourhood of Pylos can have no reasonable doubt that Thucydides had never been there himself. In spite of the amount of topographical detail which he gives, that detail is all second-hand. Not merely is this shown by the obvious errors which are present, but also by the absence of that indefinite something which may be always recognized by any one who knows a piece of ground off by heart in the description of another who has also seen it with his own eyes.

We have now before us the difficult task of trying to discover where Thucydides' mistake lay. The original cause of the mistake is his failure to grasp the fact that there were two pieces of water in this neighbourhood which at different periods of the operations were used as harbours, viz. (1) The lagoon harbour, (2) Navarino Bay. Of these two he only seems to have known and recognized the latter, and consequently ascribes to the lagoon harbour many attributes which really only belong to the bay and *vice*

*versa*. He consequently imagines that it was the two entrances of Navarino Bay which the Lacedaemonians blocked up with ships, and ascribes to those two entrances attributes which really belong to Voithio-Kilia and the north entrance or Sikia Channel. Consequently also he describes those entrances which were blocked as being on either side of Sphakteria, and introduces *πρὸς ἄλλην ἡπειρον* with regard to the southern strait, thus showing still more clearly the nature of the mistake he made.

But, how, it will be asked, did he ever come to make such a mistake? That question can only be answered when the whole story is studied, and the answer had best be left until we have examined the whole narration.

What, it may be said, was the conceivable object or objects which the Lacedaemonians had in view in blocking the channels? To answer this we must consider each channel separately. In the first place the very existence of the lagoon rendered the blocking of the Voithio-Kilia a most requisite precaution. The only approach to Koryphasion, for so we may now call it, on the land side would be over the semicircular sand-bar. If the Athenian fleet, or part of it, could have got into that shallow bay, taken the sand-bar and occupied it in force, assault on the land side of Koryphasion would have been impossible. Furthermore the Athenians could have got their vessels over that bar into the lagoon harbour, the probable anchorage of the Peloponnesian fleet. The blocking of the Sikia Channel was still more important. Communications had to be kept up with the troops who had been stationed on Sphakteria. This could be best done by blocking the channel both towards the sea and towards the bay, a measure which would also protect the mouth of the lagoon harbour which seems to have opened on to the inner end of that channel.

It was the *lagoon harbour* out of which the Peloponnesians wanted to keep the Athenian fleet. Their only interest in the bay consisted in maintaining communications with the island of Sphakteria. The number of their vessels was superior to that of the Athenian fleet, and furthermore the concentrated character of the position which the vessels blocking the channel would take up must necessarily render Athenian naval tactics of no avail.

In the passage in which the nature of the channels is described, Thucydides also gives us certain details with regard to Sphakteria. He describes it as 'being covered with wood and, owing to its being uninhabited, pathless.' Its *μέγεθος*, he tells us, was 'about fifteen stades.'<sup>29</sup>

His description of its surface is in accordance with its state at the present day. Except on the low part of the island it is terrible ground to traverse, being covered with sharp limestone rocks and stones hidden by low brushwood. 2,300 years ago there appears to have been more of the higher bush, which is, however, still found in patches throughout the island, especially on the low ground. He describes the island as being about fifteen stades long, *i.e.* about 3000 yards. Much difficulty has been raised with regard to this point, the island being, as a fact, 2½ miles or 4800 yards long.

<sup>29</sup> Thuc. iv. 8, 6.

Arnold, in his note on the subject, points out that Thucydides in one place,<sup>30</sup> speaking of Sicily, certainly uses the term *μέγεθος* in the meaning of circumference, and says that, if that meaning be taken, it would apply closely to Palaeo-Kastro. That is the case. Arnold subsequently admits that the word followed by *σταδίους*, with no express mention that the circumference is intended, would certainly be most naturally understood to mean either length or height. The mistake, for such it almost certainly is, is possibly due to a mistake on the part of Thucydides' informant, but probably due to a mistake on the part of Thucydides himself. This mistake is, very likely, not unconnected with one of two facts:—

(1) The point at which the Athenians landed on the bay side in their attack on the island is a little more than fifteen stades from the north end. This point can be identified with certainty.

(2) The southern plateau of Sphakteria was apparently never occupied by the Spartans. Their southernmost picquets were probably posted on the the East or West Table Hill, from which they would command a view of the southern plateau. The Spartan force was too small to render the simultaneous occupation of every part of an island  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles long a possibility, and they might well have supposed that an attack on the south end would be improbable because (1) the Athenians had throughout the war shown a marked disinclination to face the troops of Sparta on land, (2) landing on the south end would be always more or less difficult and very often impossible. Any one who reads Thucydides' account of the attack on Sphakteria will see that the extent of the Spartan occupation was thus limited, and reference to the map will show that the length of the part occupied was almost exactly fifteen stades or 3000 yards.

Turning to other authors with respect to the identity of Sphakteria, we find that Pausanias by his almost certain identification of Palaeo-Kastro with Koryphasion implies that the island which he calls Sphakteria is the modern Sphagia. Of the island itself he simply says: *τοῦ λιμένος δὲ ἡ Σφακτηρία νῆσος προβέβληται*.<sup>31</sup>

Strabo's mention of the island is likewise brief:<sup>32</sup> *καὶ ἡ προσκειμένη πλησίον τοῦ Πύλου Σφαγία νῆσος· ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ Σφακτηρία λεγομένη, περὶ ἣν ἀπέβαλον ζωγρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τριακοσίους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκηθέντας*.

Pliny asserts distinctly, as Arnold mentions in his note, that there were *three* islands of the name of Sphagia lying in front of Pylos.<sup>33</sup> This assertion let any one explain who can.

The context in both cases shows plainly that Sphakteria is mentioned by both Pausanias and Strabo in reference to Thucydides, Book iv., and that they both adopt Thucydides' topography.

It has already been said that, if Sphagia be taken as Sphakteria, Palaeo-Kastro must be assumed to be Koryphasion.

<sup>30</sup> Thuc. vi. 1. 1.    <sup>31</sup> Paus. iv. *Messa*. 36, 6.    <sup>32</sup> Strabo, viii. 4.    <sup>33</sup> Pliny *Histor. Natur.* iv. 12.

Thucydides informs us that there were remains of a Pylos on Koryphasion: the question is, What is the Pylos to whose remains he refers? Ancient geographers are not always trustworthy, but both they and the historians have a most fortunate tendency to supply the reader with incidental information which, when sifted, solves the difficulties which arise from the errors which they make.

There seem to be traces in various authors of four successive cities of the name Pylos in this region:—

1. The 'Mykenaeen' Pylos of Homer.

2. What Strabo calls *ἡ παλαιὰ Πύλος ἡ Μεσσηνιακή*, which may be a reference to an alternative site which has been suggested for No. 1, but is probably not so.

3. After the destruction of this city, Strabo says: *ὑπὸ τῷ Κορυφασίῳ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὥκησαν· προσέκτισαν δ' αὐτὴν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλέοντες μετ' Εὐρυμέδοντος*, etc.

4. The Pylos of Pausanias, certainly founded after the events on Sphakteria.

Of these the position of No. 1 is not as yet known. There are traces of very ancient work on Agio Nikolo, which may be remnants of it, and a certain amount of likelihood is added to the conjecture by the fact that Voithio-Kilia was probably a channel in Mykenaeen days.

No. 4's position is almost certainly identified with Palaeo-Kastro by Pausanias' mention of the cave within the walls. The cave referred to is that which is called 'Nestor's Cave' at the present day. Pausanias also says this city was on Koryphasion. If so, Palaeo-Kastro was known to Pausanias as Koryphasion.

What was known to Pausanias as Koryphasion would, we may apprehend, have been known to Strabo by the same name. In that case No. 3 was also on Palaeo-Kastro, with its acropolis on the sununit. This, then, would be the city to whose ruins Thucydides makes reference.

The identification of Palaeo-Kastro with the Koryphasion of Thucydides is now as complete as we can make it with the data we have at our disposal: they are:—

- (1) Its position relative to Sphagia.
- (2) Its correspondence topographically with the description of Thucydides.
- (3) The fact that the Pylos whose ruins are mentioned must have been situated on it.

We may recur briefly to its fortification by the Athenians. It was fortified on the land side [*τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον*] and towards the sea. The nature

of the east cliff renders it assailable at two and only two places on the land side :—

(a) At the gap towards the north end of the cliff for a space of 170 yards.

(b) By a narrow rocky path running close to the Sikia Channel under the south end of this cliff.

These are absolutely the only possible points of assault, and the second is so narrow that the ease with which it might be defended would render an attack by that way improbable. Furthermore it is, as has been said, extremely likely that the entrance to the lagoon harbour would intervene between (b) and the sand-bar, rendering its assault by land impossible.

On the sea side we know the wall must have been low down, because we are told that Demosthenes drew up his ships underneath it. It must have run from the south end of the east cliff to the shore in a north-west direction for about 440 yards, for it is only the south-west shore of Koryphasion which affords the slightest opportunity for landing.

Was the summit of Koryphasion fortified? Probably it was already partially provided with a wall in the shape of the ancient enceinte wall of the Acropolis of Pylos; but no mention is made of its fortification. The reference to the fortification of τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον cannot refer to it, because, if built on the summit, that fortification would have been on the top of a cliff 350 feet high. Moreover there is a very clear reason for the wall in the gap towards the north end of the cliff. Had it not been there, assailants could have got on the lower part of the hill, passed round on the sea side, and taken the defenders of the south wall in the rear. Thanks however to the very marked characteristics of Koryphasion, we have in respect to the lines adopted in its fortification to deal with certainties instead of the many mere probabilities in which Thucydides' topographical mistake and its results have hitherto involved us. Those probabilities are, it is true, very probable,—how probable will best be seen by him who examines the whole weight of evidence composed of facts which taken by themselves seem of slight moment.

The Lacedaemonians now took what was destined to be the fatal step of sending a force to occupy Sphakteria, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον ἄλλους ἔταξαν.<sup>34</sup>

The last words evidently refer to the occupation of the sand-bar between the lagoon and the harbour, manifestly with the object of preventing the Athenian fleet from using that shore of the bay to draw up their ships. This is a significant fact. Suppose the lagoon harbour had not been there, the land force of the Spartans would have had its left resting on this shore and in occupation of it in such a way that it would have been impossible for the Athenians to make use of it. But Thucydides describes its occupation as a special measure. It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that this occupation cannot refer to the south-east shores of the bay. They are of such a character as to render it impossible that they could have been used for landing by the Athenian fleet, and no conceivable object could have been gained by placing

<sup>34</sup> Thuc. iv. 8, 7.



troops there. Thucydides here reproduces the information given him without seeing its topographical significance, for the very good reason that he did not understand the topography of the land to the north of the bay. This unconscious evidence, thus given, is almost more convincing than the same evidence would have been had it been direct:—

‘For thus (by the occupation of the island and the bay shore) the island would be hostile to the Athenians, and the mainland too, if it offered no place for disembarkation. For the shores of Pylos outside the harbour entrance towards the sea being harbourless, they would have no base of operations from which to assist their friends, whilst they, the Lacedaemonians, would in all probability reduce the place without a naval battle and any danger, there being but little food in it, and as it had been occupied with but little preparation.’<sup>35</sup>

If we are to suppose the Peloponnesian fleet in occupation of Navarino Bay, this tale is absolutely inconsistent, and the whole passage shows only too plainly the inconsistencies into which the mistake which Thucydides has made drive him. He supposed that the Spartans were going to block the harbour mouths. We know that, because the cutting off of the men on Sphakteria is ascribed to the failure to take this precaution. But if they were going to do this, what does the passage about the occupation of the mainland and of the island mean, since it is to these precautions that the future Athenian difficulties are ascribed? If the channels were blocked, as Thucydides supposed, the Athenians could never have entered the bay.

The fact is, of course, that the occupation of the north and north-east shore of the Bay of Navarino cut the Athenians off from the only part of its coast where they could pull up their vessels from the sea. The rest is all cliff of more or less height. Furthermore, the Sikia Channel must have been blocked at both ends in order that communication with the island might be maintained. Thucydides has taken what his informant told him, no doubt correctly, but he has never understood the real bearing of the tale. When the real explanation of the matter is seen, it is easy to understand Thucydides’ remark, ‘they (the Lacedaemonians) supposed that they would probably take the place without a sea fight and without danger.’ They might well suppose so. With their ships blocking the narrow channel of Sikia, with the remainder of their fleet drawn up either on the sand-bar of Navarino Bay or at anchor in the lagoon harbour, and with all the north and north-east shore of that bay occupied with troops, their position was unassailable to all intents and purposes by the force the Athenians had at their command. The Voithio-Kilia mouth would be blocked, too. Even had it not been so, that small bay could not, owing to its nature, have provided an anchorage or harbour for the Athenian fleet. It is very small, very shallow, and its shores were in the

<sup>35</sup> οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τε νῆσον πολεμίαν εἶσθαι τὴν τε ἡπειρον, ἀπόβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν· τὰ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Πύλου ἔξω τοῦ ἔσπλου πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀλίμενα ὄντα, οὐχ ἔξειν ἵθι· ὁρμώμενοι ὠφελήσουσι τοὺς αὐτῶν, σφεῖς δὲ

ἄνεν τε ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου ἐκπολιορκήσιν τὸ χαρίον κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, σίτου τε οὐκ ἐνόντος καὶ δι’ ὀλίγης παρασκευῆς κατειλημμένου.—Thuc. iv. 8, 8.

enemy's possession, so that Thucydides' remark as to the harbourless nature of the coast outside Pylos is fully justified.<sup>36</sup>

The blockade of Koryphasion was now complete. How complete it was and how effective it would have been if maintained in its entirety, an examination of the positions occupied by the Peloponnesians will show.

Demosthenes meanwhile made preparations to repel the threatened attack.<sup>37</sup> He had with him the complements of three ships, *i.e.* probably about 600 men, together with 40 hoplites from a Messenian privateer. Some of his men were ill-armed.

These three ships he drew up *ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχοςμα*; this shows, as has been said, that the wall must have been low down on the south-west side, the only part of the shore of Koryphasion at which landing is possible. The distribution of his men between the fortifications on the land and sea sides respectively is somewhat doubtful. Thucydides' description is not quite clear on this point. He says:—

‘The majority of his men, both the fully and the partially armed, he drew up on the side of the position towards the land, which was specially fortified and secure, with orders to keep off the land force, should it attack; he himself however, with sixty picked hoplites and a few archers, went outside the wall to the sea, to the point where he especially expected the enemy would attempt to land, a difficult and rocky spot facing the open sea. He thought that the enemy would be attracted thither and would be sure to make a dash at that point, because the fortifications were weaker.’

‘The Athenians, never expecting that they would be overmastered at sea, had not been strongly fortifying this side, whereas the Lacedaemonians hoped that, having once forced a landing, the position might be taken.’<sup>38</sup>

There seems to be an omission in the description of the dispositions of the defending parties. The manning of the south wall towards the sea must have been part of the defence, and Thucydides' language seems to take that for granted, though he does not expressly assert the fact. Taking it as it stands, there is a manifest inconsistency in the assertion that the larger part

<sup>36</sup> The estimated positions of the Peloponnesian land and sea forces when the blockade of Koryphasion was complete have been for clearness' sake marked on a special map.

<sup>37</sup> Thuc. iv. 9.

<sup>38</sup> τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς τῶν τε ἀόπλων καὶ ὠπλισμένων ἐπὶ τὰ τετειχισμένα μάλιστα καὶ ἐχυρὰ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρὸν ἔταξε, προειπὼν ἀμύνασθαι τὸν πεζὸν, ἣν προσβάλλῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπολεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων ἐξήκοντα ὀπλίτας καὶ τοξότας ὀλίγους, ἐχώρει ἔξω τοῦ τεύχους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσεδέχετο πειράσειν ἀποβαίνειν ἐς χωρία μὲν χαλεπὰ καὶ πετρώδη πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τετραμμένα, σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τεύχους ταύτῃ ἀσθενεστάτου ὄντος ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖτο προθυμήσεσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐλπίζοντες ποτὲ ναυτὶ κρατηθήσεσθαι οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν εἰτεῖχίζον, ἐκείνοις τε βιαζόμενοις τὴν ἀπόβασιν.

ἀλώσιμον τὸ χωρίον γίγνεσθαι.—*Il.* iv. 9, 2.

This last sentence is taken from Jowett's translation of Thucydides. He adopts the reading in Arnold's text.

The passage is of well known difficulty. A satisfactory translation of the words as they stand in Arnold's text seems to be impossible. Dr. Rutherford in his edition of the fourth book of Thucydides boldly leaves out *προθυμήσεσθαι* and substitutes *ἐπισπάσεσθαι* for the aorist infinitive and then translates 'believed they would be allured' etc. Though Dr. Rutherford is somewhat too bold a guide for those unacquainted with the crevasses and pitfalls of textual criticism to follow, yet his (apparently unsupported) emendation of the text has in this case the merit of plausibility.

of the force was at the strongest point, *τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον*, and a small fraction merely with Demosthenes. It is quite evident from the account of the attack on Koryphasion that Thucydides' informant was with Demosthenes, probably one of the sixty hoplites, and these inconsistencies may have crept in owing to his desire to exaggerate the glorious nature of the defence on his side. An alternative reason which may be suggested for this manifest understatement of numbers is the tendency which Thucydides displays throughout the whole of the Pylos narrative to make Demosthenes the hero of the story. At the same time it is certain that, for the reasons which Thucydides mentions, Demosthenes relied but little on the south wall for his defence on the sea side. He seems to have thought that under the circumstances the difficulty of bringing the ships to land would be his best ally, but is it conceivable that out of the 600 men, more or less, whom he had with him he only took '60 picked men and a few archers' to defend the landing place? The place at which the landing was attempted is, as has been said, the south-west portion of the shore of Koryphasion. It is, as Thucydides describes it, *χωρία χαλεπὰ καὶ πετρώδη πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τετραμμένα*. The expectation of the Spartans with regard to the capture of Koryphasion in case this landing and the south wall was forced, was at any rate reasonable, since, in that case it would have been possible to take the defenders of the north wall in reverse, and the summit or Acropolis would have been the sole refuge of the Athenians.

In chapter 10 we have the speech of Demosthenes to his men. Though it does contain topographical statements, yet these, no doubt, as inserted by Thucydides, are merely Thucydides' own deductions from the information which he himself received and which he imparts in the general narrative.

In chapter 11 we have an account of the attack from the sea, and mention of the fact that the land attack was simultaneous, but of the latter no details are given.

The sea attack was made with forty-three ships. It was made at the point at which Demosthenes expected it would be made. From what has been said, it will be seen that this is in no wise surprising.

'The Peloponnesians made their assaults in detachments of a few ships, relieving each other in turn, because it was not possible to put in with more. They displayed no lack of zeal, and cheered one another on, if by any means they might force their way and capture the fortification.'<sup>39</sup>

The extent of the low rocky shore is about 350 yards. But this shore is very far from being unimpeded. Numerous rocks close to it, both above the water and near to its surface, render it approachable only at intervals by any vessel bigger than a boat, in fact it is only at small stretches of this 350 yards that a vessel would be able to get sufficiently near in to reach the shore in shallow water with its *ἀποβάθρα*, the form of landing which seems to have been attempted. The whole of this part of the narrative is peculiarly in

<sup>39</sup> οἱ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελόμενοι, διότι οὐκ ἦν πλείοσι προσσχεῖν, καὶ ἀναπαύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιούντο, προθυμίᾳ τε πάσῃ

χρώμενοι καὶ παρακελευσμέ, εἰ πως ὥσάμενοι ἔλοιεν τὸ τείχος.—Thuc. iv. 11, 3.

accord with the local circumstances as we now see them, and there is no reason to suppose that they have altered to any appreciable extent since the events narrated occurred.

The details with regard to Brasidas are possibly 'written up,' but are also consistent with the local circumstances.<sup>40</sup>

The attack was repulsed, as also was the attack on the north wall, though the last fact is not directly stated. The absence of details with regard to the latter attack is significant. It would seem as if Thucydides' informant must have been with Demosthenes on the south side, and we may suspect, at any rate, that Thucydides relied for his account of what took place on Koryphasion on *one* informant only.

The idea of an attack on the sea side was apparently given up as hopeless, and the energies of the Lacedaemonians were now directed to the attack on the north wall. They sent ships to Asine on the west shore of the Messenian Gulf for wood, wherewith to make engines,<sup>41</sup> ἐλπίζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὕσης ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς.

This is one of the most striking examples of the peculiar way in which an ancient author may unconsciously correct a mistake he has made.

The matter is important and must be stated clearly. In the first place this wall described as κατὰ τὸν λιμένα is certainly the fortification described as defending τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον. It has already been shown that this can only have been in one place, viz. the gap in the east cliff towards the north end. There is no gap at the south end, and, as has been said, only a narrow rocky path leads round the end of the cliff along the shore of the Sikia Channel. Even if there had been a wall at this end of the cliff, which would have been superfluous save for a few yards from the shore, it would have been out of the reach of engines, for the cliff rises very steeply from its southern edge on the channel. This wall *can* have been no other than the north wall. If the map be now referred to it will be seen that not by any stretch of imagination could this wall be described as κατὰ τὸν λιμένα, if the λιμὴν were the Bay of Navarino. It would be half a mile from the bay shore, and would face east, i.e. not towards the bay at all. This λιμὴν cannot be the Bay of Navarino; it cannot indeed be anything save the lagoon harbour. The mention of the ease of landing at this point is also noticeable, but in a minor degree, because the premisses on which any argument drawn from it are founded are not of the same certainty. Still it must be pointed out that the exit of the lagoon harbour was probably right under the south end of the east cliff of Koryphasion, and thus, if this were so, landing at that point of Koryphasion would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. But at the foot of the north wall was the south side of the low sand-bar separating the Voithio-Kilia from the lagoon harbour, and here landing would be peculiarly easy,—a very necessary consideration, since heavy timber and materials would have to be landed near the spot where the attack was to take place.

<sup>40</sup> Thuc. iv. 11. 3. 4. and 12.

<sup>41</sup> *Ib.* iv. 13.

Surely we have in this short passage a transcript of the words in which Thucydides' informant described this wall,—words the significance of which Thucydides never understood because he never apprehended the existence of the lagoon harbour.

The Athenian fleet now arrived, and with its arrival begins what may be called the second chapter of the history of the events at Pylos:<sup>42</sup> a chapter the information in which must almost certainly have been derived from an informant or from informants different to the one who described to Thucydides the events on and about Koryphasion: a chapter which contrasts markedly with its predecessor in respect of topographical accuracy, and which also contrasts with it in respect of the comparative absence in it of direct as distinguished from implied topographical statements.<sup>43</sup>

The number of the fleet was fifty ships apparently, though the *πεντήκοντα* of the text is not quite certain. As Arnold points out in his note however, it is stated in ch. 23, 2, of this book that after the twenty ships arrived from Athens the total number of vessels was seventy. When they saw the Peloponnesian vessels in the harbour, and the island and coast occupied with troops, 'being at a loss where to come to anchor, they sailed to the island of Proté, which is not far off and is uninhabited, and there passed the night.'<sup>44</sup> In the first place what they probably saw on their arrival was a line of vessels blocking the Sikia Channel both outside and inside (*ἐν τῷ λιμένι*) while the rest of the Peloponnesian fleet was either on the sand-bar, or in the lagoon harbour, probably the former. The position was evidently not one to encourage an attack. Why did they not stay then in Navarino Bay instead of going off to Proté, eight miles away up the coast northwards? Because, says Thucydides, they were at a loss where to anchor. Thucydides' reason is a perfectly comprehensible and consistent one. If the sandy shore on the north and north-east of the bay were occupied, that would of course be the case in a deep, large, and only partially sheltered bay; and, in fact, we know from the subsequent history, when the attractions of a blockade of Sphacteria induced them to put up with anchorage in the bay, how evil a place of anchorage they found it. But when we read the next sentence we are compelled to doubt whether Thucydides got hold, not of the facts (those show evidence of correctness), but of the motives which prompted the commanders of the fleet to act as they did. Let us notice how Thucydides describes what followed:—

'On the following day they (the Athenians) proceeded to sea cleared for action to see whether the enemy would be willing to sail out against them into the open, and if they would not, with the intention of sailing in to attack them. The latter were not putting out, nor had they, as intended, blocked the entrances, but were quietly manning their ships on land and

<sup>42</sup> Thuc. iv. 13, 2.

<sup>43</sup> It will be well, perhaps, to leave the detailed discussion of this point until the story is finished.

<sup>44</sup> ἀπορήσαντες ὕπῃ καθορμίσωνται, τότε μὲν ἐς Πρώτην τὴν νῆσον, ἥ οὐ πολλὸν ἀπέχει ἐρημος οὖσα, ἐπλευσαν καὶ ἡύλίσαντο.—*Ib.* iv. 13, 3.

making preparations with the apparent intention of fighting in the harbour, which was not a small one, any one who sailed in.'

'The Athenians, perceiving this, went at them through both entrances and coming bows on to the majority of the enemy's fleet which was already afloat and facing them, put them to flight, and pursuing them as far as they could considering the shortness of the distance, damaged a number of them, and took five, one of the latter with its crew.'<sup>45</sup> Then follows a detailed description of the fight for the vessels ashore, which resulted in the Lacedaemonians recovering all but the vessels first taken. Then come the words 'and the Athenians immediately sailed round the island, and blockaded it with its intercepted garrison.'<sup>46</sup>

There is no cause for supposing that the *facts* above stated are wrong, but it is impossible to believe that the story as told gives a true idea of what really happened. Let us consider for one moment what had taken place. On the previous day the Athenian fleet had come to the harbour and found the Peloponnesian fleet in some position which did not offer opportunity for successful attack, nor yet for blockading Sphakteria. On the next day they return and find the Peloponnesians in an utterly unprepared state, for which the sole reason given is that the latter had made up their minds to fight in the harbour. And this is the very fleet which, a week or two before, had carefully avoided a conflict with this very Athenian fleet by transport across the peninsula of Leucas. If we accept this we have two questions to face to which it is impossible to give an answer even remotely consistent with probability.

(1) What induced the Peloponnesians to sacrifice the evidently strong position of the previous day, especially a position which guaranteed the maintenance of their sole interest in the Bay of Navarino, viz. the retention of the power of communicating with the island?

(2) If they were guilty of so strange a lack of judgment, how is it they were caught in such an unprepared state on the day of battle?

There is manifestly some great omission in Thucydides' account of the matter. The tale resembles Herodotus' account of the events at Plataea, true in the main facts, misleading as to motives, and for the same reason possibly, that the informant from whom the facts were drawn was not acquainted with the designs of those in command. The informant gives as motives the reasons which would be present to his mind—the bad harbour accommodation, and a determination on the part of the Peloponnesian fleet to face the matter out.

<sup>45</sup> τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ἣν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐπισπλευσοῦμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὔτε ἀντανήγοντο, οὔτε ἂν διανοήθησαν, φράζει τοὺς ἑσπλους, ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες, ἡσυχάζοντες δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ἣν ἑσπλήν τις, ὡς ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὄντι οὐ σμικρῶ ναυμαχῆσοντες. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες καθ' ἑκάτερον τὸν ἑσπλουν

ᾤρησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰς μὲν πλείους καὶ μετεώρους ἦδη τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀντιπράρους προσπεσόντες ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐπιδιώκοντες ὡς διὰ βραχείος ἔτρασαν μὲν πολλὰς, πέντε δ' ἔλαβον, καὶ μίαν τούτων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι.—Thuc. iv. 13, 3 3/4, 14, 1.

<sup>46</sup> καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐθὺς περιέπλεον καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειλημένων.—Ib. iv. 14. 5

The bad harbour accommodation was true enough; that is supported by the sequel. But there is more behind. Is there any possibility of getting at the truth in this case? Taking the story as it stands does it not read like a successful ruse on the part of the Athenian admirals? They come on the first day and find the superior Peloponnesian fleet in a defensive position, blocking the Sikia Channel, where the chances were largely in favour of the defence. They were probably aware from communications with those on Koryphasion that the Peloponnesian plan of blocking the entrances was only put in operation during the daytime, when attack was likely or possible. So they sailed away north in order to give the impression that they despaired of raising the blockade for the present at any rate. The ruse seems to have been successful. The blocking vessels were withdrawn for the night and before they can take up their position on the following day, the Athenians are back and on them. One division sails into the Sikia Channel,<sup>47</sup> and while part of the Peloponnesian fleet is opposing it, the remainder put out from the sand-bar into the Bay of Navarino to cover the rear of the defenders of the channel against the Athenian vessels advancing through the south entrance. It was the channel, not the bay, whose defence was all important to them. Defeat follows in the bay and the defenders of the channel must give way or be taken in reverse. They may have retired within the lagoon harbour, they may have run on the shore of the sand-bar, but the channel is lost, and with its loss the blockade of Sphakteria becomes possible and actual. Let no one think that this sketch is put forward as a certainty. The only certainty about the matter is that the motives which Thucydides gives as the sole motives are far from being so, and that the sketch, though it cannot partake of the nature of certainty, is in accord with the facts we have at our disposal. The story as told by Thucydides is sufficiently detailed to show us that the motives he gives are quite inadequate and indeed inconsistent. The Greeks of this period were not beginners in the art of war. The objective of either side in this battle in the bay was quite clear. The Peloponnesians wished to maintain the blockade of Koryphasion and prevent the blockade of the island, the Athenians to break up the former and to establish the latter. Thucydides' own narrative makes this point quite plain. Thucydides, however, seems either to have been over-conscientious in abiding by his information, reproducing not only the facts but also the motives which were reported to him, or to have suppressed material points in the story. Some of that information may have been drawn, indeed, from the Peloponnesian side: if it was, it is peculiarly in accord with Spartan practice to minimize both defeat and the cause of it. The defeat must have been a bad one. Wherever the Peloponnesian fleet was during the remainder of the blockade, drawn up on shore either on the sand-bar or in the lagoon harbour or at anchor in the latter, it makes no further attempt to break up the naval blockade of the island.

<sup>47</sup> It is worth while noticing that Thucydides mentions expressly the fact that on the second day the Athenian fleet poured into the bay by

both channels. This supports the view that on the first day the Sikia was blocked.

But there is, as has been said, a strong Spartan flavour about the story in so far as it affects the Peloponnesian fleet. A bold determination to face it out in the open would put a better complexion on subsequent defeat than the fact of being caught by a ruse unprepared; and the minimizing of the defeat follows as a matter of course.

Sphakteria was now blockaded.<sup>48</sup> Relief was impossible except by water, and the defeat of the fleet had destroyed all hope in that direction. So the Spartans tried negotiation. An armistice was concluded,<sup>49</sup> the Lacedaemonians handing over the *whole* of their war fleet, not merely that at Pylos, to the Athenians for the interval during which negotiation proceeded. Sixty ships were thus surrendered temporarily.<sup>50</sup> Their stipulation with regard to the handing over of the fleet shows that the Athenians were perfectly well aware that even with a defeated fleet in the lagoon harbour, or on its shores, a blockade would be exceedingly difficult.

The speech of the Lacedaemonians at Athens<sup>51</sup> does not in any way contribute to our knowledge of the circumstances at Pylos. It merely shows that the Spartan government viewed the situation of those in Sphakteria with a despair which was infinitely greater than the confidence with which the Athenians engaged in the blockade regarded it. With the democracy at home, however, all was confidence, and the negotiations came to nothing, owing to Kleon's influence, so Thucydides tells us.

The armistice over, the Athenians refused to give up the ships. They established a patrol of two ships round the island during the daytime, and all the fleet anchored round it at night, save, when there was a wind, on the side towards the sea. A reinforcement of twenty ships arrived from Athens, raising the number of the fleet to seventy. Meanwhile the Peloponnesian attacks on the wall (*i.e.* the north wall of Koryphasion) are frequent but unsuccessful.<sup>52</sup>

Reference is made to the hardships of the Athenians. The scarcity of food and water was a serious difficulty.<sup>53</sup> The scarcity of water in the neighbourhood during the summer season may be easily understood by

<sup>48</sup> Thuc. iv. 15.

<sup>49</sup> *Ib.* iv. 16.

<sup>50</sup> This number mentioned (sixty) increases the doubt which may be felt with regard to the details of the naval fight. The number of the Peloponnesian fleet was originally sixty (*Ib.* iv. 8, 2). From the account of the battle in the bay we gather that *only five* (*Ib.* iv. 14, especially 4) were taken by the Athenians. There remained, if this be true, fifty-five vessels. The terms of the surrender at the time of the armistice are uncertain. *Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἐν αἷς ἐναυμάχησαν. παραδοῦναι* (*Ib.* iv. 16, 1). Does this mean that only the Lacedaemonian vessels of the Peloponnesian fleet were

to be surrendered, or the whole fleet that had taken part in the fight? The evident object of the Athenians in securing the fleet renders the latter alternative by far the more probable of the two. If, then, the whole number of ships surrendered was 'about sixty' (*Ib.* iv. 16, 3), we have to suppose that only about five war ships of the Lacedaemonian fleet were absent from this engagement. This may be true, but it seems improbable that with so insignificant a reserve the Lacedaemonians should have ventured upon a naval battle in the harbour.

<sup>51</sup> *Ib.* iv. chh. 17-22.

<sup>52</sup> *Ib.* iv. 23.

<sup>53</sup> *Ib.* iv. 26, 1.



those who have visited the region. Navarino itself is supplied by springs seven miles away from the town.

‘For there was not save one fountain in the actual Acropolis of Pylos, and this not a large one,’ &c.<sup>54</sup>

There may be, in fact we may conclude there must have been, a well in or about the mediaeval fortification of Palaeo-Kastro. It does not, however, become apparent in the course of the survey. The only well in use at present near Palaeo-Kastro is at the foot of the cliff, where the sand spit between the lagoon and the bay abuts on it. It is from sixteen to twenty feet deep with, apparently, some tunnelling at the bottom of it running under the hill. The water is good. The extensive mediaeval buildings of Palaeo-Kastro have largely destroyed all traces of the earlier work of man on that hill; still it is, of course, possible that a close examination of the site might discover much which is not presented to the eye on mere inspection.

‘There was a lack of room, too, since they were encamped on a small space, and as there was no anchorage for the ships some took their meals on shore in turn, whilst the remainder rode in deep water.’<sup>55</sup>

The στενοχωρία is explained by the fact that, owing to the steepness of the gradient, the amount of camping ground on Koryphasion would be small.

The emphatic statement as to the difficulty of the anchorage is curious, if we consider that no such difficulty is mentioned when the Athenian fleet first took refuge at Pylos, nor yet when the Peloponnesian fleet was stationed there. The circumstances were different, of course, in one respect; the sandy north and north-east shores of the bay were now occupied by troops, and the vessels could not be drawn up on shore, but there would be the same possibility of anchoring off these shores as on the previous visit. Is not this difference of circumstances to be ascribed to the fact that in this second case the anchorage was in the great exposed Bay of Navarino, whereas in the case of the first visit it had been in the smaller and comparatively sheltered lagoon harbour?

The island too now called Marathonisi (Fennel Island) is never mentioned by Thucydides. It is a rugged islet, with shores of steep, but not lofty, jagged rocks, awkward to land on, even from a boat. It cannot have been of any use to the fleet in the bay.

The Spartan force in the island must have starved had not the Helots and others managed to effect some successful blockade running on the sea side of Sphakteria.<sup>56</sup> The part of the coast where they landed may be identified as the low but rocky shore which extends from the bay near Gadaro point northwards. Landing there in anything resembling a sea would be difficult and dangerous.

‘And the hoplites kept watch about the landing places of the island.’<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἦν κρήνη ὅτι μὴ μία, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Πύλου, καὶ αὕτη οὐ μεγάλη.—Thuc. iv. 26, 2.

<sup>55</sup> στενοχωρία τε ἐν ὀλίγῃ στρατιωπεδευμένοις ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχουσάν ὕμνον αἱ μὲν

σίτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ῥιροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, αἱ δὲ μετέωροι ὤρμουν.—*Ib.* iv. 26, 3.

<sup>56</sup> *Ib.* iv. 26, 5 seqq.

<sup>57</sup> καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται περὶ τὰς κατάρσεις τῆς νήσου ἐφύλασσον.—*Ib.* iv. 26, 7.

This fact, and the position of the water supply, accounts for the position of what was evidently the main encampment of the Spartans on the island, namely, at the foot of the High Cliff Hill.

‘Divers also swam to the island on the harbour side.’<sup>58</sup>

That the swimming under water [if this be necessarily implied in Thucydides’ wording] is an exaggeration there can be no doubt, but that the main fact is true, viz. that this means of communication with the island was employed, is exceedingly probable. The Peloponnesians were in occupation of the sand-bar between the lagoon harbour and the bay, the extreme point of which was almost certainly within 300 yards of the north end of Sphakteria.

With the events at Athens which resulted in Kleon being appointed to the command at Pylos<sup>59</sup> it is not necessary to deal, but before we take the description of the attack on Sphakteria it will be well to say a few words as to the extent to which that description accords with the natural features of Sphagia as they present themselves to us at the present day. If anything could redeem the topographical errors which we find in the account of the operations at Pylos, it is the graphic and exact account of the events on the island. Should any reader of this paper ever visit Sphagia, let him take up his position on the summit of what has been called on the map for want of a better descriptive name the East Table Hill, and there read from the 29th to the 38th chapter of this fourth book of the History. It will be strange if he does not recognize two things: in the first place, that in those chapters Thucydides displays his full powers as an historian; secondly, that the events there described happened on the island of Sphagia and nowhere else, in fact, the concord between the description and the ground is so striking as to dispose for ever of the theory that the Sphakteria of Thucydides is to be identified with Palaeo-Kastro, or with anything else than Sphagia. The writer of this paper had at one time a leaning towards the Palaeo-Kastro—Sphakteria view; but that was before the survey of the island had been made. After that he felt that the theory could not be supported save by wilfully ignoring evidence which carried with it a conviction amounting practically to certainty.

Kleon arrived at Pylos with the set intention of attacking the Spartans on Sphakteria.<sup>60</sup> An accidental circumstance helped him. The island had been covered with wood: probably, as has been said, there was at that time more of the high bush on the island than there is at present. Even now on the low ground there is a great deal of it. This wood had been accidentally burnt by the Athenians who landed at either extremity of the island to take their meals.<sup>61</sup> Such accidental fires are only too common in Greece in the summer, and at times do serious destruction in the now rare forests of the country. So few landings are there on Sphakteria that it is possible to identify the points on the island at which the Athenians put in as being:—

<sup>58</sup> ἐσένεον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα κολυμβηταὶ  
ὑψυδροί.—Thuc. iv. 26, 8.

<sup>59</sup> Ib. iv. 27 and 28.

<sup>60</sup> Ib. iv. 29.

<sup>61</sup> Ib. iv. 30, 2 seqq.

(1) At the North end near the Tortori Rocks, where there is a corner of land difficult of approach from the rest of the island owing to cliffs.

(2) At the South landing and probably also at the Santa Rosa landing.

We now come to the description of the actual attack. It is of peculiar interest, because it is possible to follow it in detail on the spot, and the identification of the main points is practically certain.

Demosthenes had, before attacking, proposed certain terms of capitulation. These were refused.<sup>62</sup>

‘On the following day they put out under cover of darkness, having embarked all the hoplites on a few ships, and a little before dawn they disembarked on either side of the island both from the sea and from towards the harbour to the number of about 800 heavy-armed men.’<sup>63</sup>

Before referring to the points of landing, the position of the main force of the Spartans on the island must be determined. It was on the low ground, so as to be near the landings when the blockade runners put in. It was near the only well on the island. In such a country as Greece a well is of infinitely greater importance than in one where summer drought is the exception and not the invariable rule. Consequently old wells are maintained with the greatest care. There is no population on Sphacteria, but it is, and probably always has been, used for pasturage. It is consequently more than probable that the only well at present existent on the island is the identical one on which the Spartan force was dependent for its water supply. That well is situated at the foot of the High Cliff Hill, opposite that part of the shore towards the sea where landing is most possible. There, we may conjecture, was the main encampment of the island force. The blockade had lasted long and the Athenians had not attempted any attack on the island. From this danger then the blockaded force might well suppose itself to be fairly free, and hence have relaxed its precautions against surprise. It is quite certain that its numbers were insufficient for the occupation of the whole island, and though the fact is not expressly stated, the whole story shows apparently that no attempt was made to occupy the southern plateau.

The time chosen for the Athenian landing shows that they wished to disembark unopposed, in fact, any serious opposition at that stage of the proceedings would have wrecked the whole design. We may be certain then that the disembarkation took place out of sight and hearing of the Spartan encampment. This evident fact renders the determination of the landing places on the sea side almost unmistakable. It can only have been the short space of low rocky shore which intervenes between the cliffs of Cape Gadaro and the cape next south of it. The high ridges running from the West Table Hill to Gadaro Point would effectually render it out of sight and hearing of any one on the low ground of the island.

<sup>62</sup> Thuc. iv. 30, 4.

<sup>63</sup> τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἀνηγάροντο μὲν νυκτὸς, ἐπ' ὀλίγας ναῦς τοὺς ὀπλίτας πάντας ἐπιβιβάσαντες, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑω ὀλίγον ἀπέβαινον τῆς νήσου

ἐκατέρωθεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος. ὀκτακόσιοι μάλιστα ὄντες ὀπλῖται.—*Ib.* iv. 31, 1.

On the bay side the disembarkation must have been effected either at the Santa Rosa landing or at the South landing. Though landing at the latter would not be possible in aught resembling rough weather, yet the very fact that landing was possible on the sea face of the island shows that the weather at the time was calm. At the same time the probability is strongly in favour of the Santa Rosa landing, as being by nature infinitely the easier of the two, especially for vessels of any size. The south landing lies at the head of a narrow rocky inlet and is not a convenient one even for a small boat. On the question of sight and sound the Santa Rosa landing would be safe, for the south shoulder of the High Cliff Hill rises steeply above it and entirely separates it from the low ground on the other side of the island.

‘And they advanced at the double against the first outpost of the island. For the disposition of the enemy’s force was as follows :—In this first outpost were some thirty hoplites.’<sup>64</sup>

Where this outpost was we are not told. It must have been south of the main encampment. It is very likely that it was posted on either the East or West Table Hills, and if so, was probably attacked simultaneously by the two landing parties. The general effect of the first landing seems to have been that the southern plateau was secured before the disembarkation of the remainder of the troops was attempted, and this, no doubt, was the object aimed at.

‘The majority of them with Epitadas the commander held the middle and more level part of the island in the neighbourhood of the water.’<sup>65</sup>

As has been already said, this position was almost certainly in the neighbourhood of the present well, under the High Cliff Hill. The Athenians, once on the East and West Table Hills, would look right down on the main encampment of the Spartan force.

‘A small detachment guarded the actual extremity of the island towards Pylos, which was precipitous on the sea side, and not by any means easily assailable from the land side. There was a sort of fortification there, of ancient date and made of unsquared stones, which they thought would be of use to them if they should be hard pressed.’<sup>66</sup>

This position is quite unmistakable. It was on the hill which forms the northern extremity and highest point of the island. In the Admiralty map Cyclopean remains are noted as existing on the summit. There is certainly something which resembles a polygonal wall on that summit, but the peculiar resemblance which a face of limestone with its many cracks and crannies bears to a wall of this kind renders it difficult to speak with certainty in reference to these supposed remains. There is nothing whatever to guide us

<sup>64</sup> καὶ ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον φυλακτῆριον τῆς νήσου. ὦδε γὰρ διετετάχατο. ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ ὡς τριάκοντα ἦσαν ὀπλίται. —Thuc. iv. 31, 1.

<sup>65</sup> μέσον δὲ καὶ ὑμαλάτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων εἶχε. —Ib. iv. 31, 2.

<sup>66</sup> Ib. μέρος δέ τι οὐ πολὺ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔσχατον ἐφύλασσε τῆς νήσου, τὸ πρὸς τὴν Πύλον, ὃ ἦν ἐκ τε θαλάσσης ἀπόκρημνον καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡκιστα ἐπίμαχον· καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ἔρυμα αὐτόθι ἦν παλαιόν. λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον, ὃ ἐνόμιζον σφίσιν ὠφέλιμον ἂν εἶναι, εἰ καταλαμβάνου ἀνεχάρησις βιαιοτέρα.

as to the place where 'τοὺς πρώτους φύλακας,' mentioned in the first section of ch. 32, were posted. The words *λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν* show, what indeed is made clear in the previous part of the story, that the Athenians managed to disembark before the Spartans were aware that aught unusual was going on.

We then learn<sup>67</sup> that a second and larger body of troops landed on the island, so that the total Athenian force which was engaged in the attack consisted of:—

- (1) The original landing party of 800 Athenian hoplites.
- (2) The second force consisting of:
  - (a) The crews of between seventy and eighty ships.
  - (b) 800 archers.
  - (c) About 800 peltasts.
  - (d) Messenian auxiliaries.
  - (e) 'All those who were posted about Pylos, except the guards on the wall.'

Arnold<sup>68</sup> seems to think that the last mentioned were stationed in the surrounding country. That is in itself improbable, and a more likely explanation would seem to be that all those on Pylos, *i.e.* Koryphasion, who could be spared from the defence were sent to join the force on the island. No doubt, since the arrival of the Athenian fleet, that garrison had been largely increased. It is impossible to estimate even approximately the numbers of this force, owing to the absolutely indefinite character of (d) and (e).

Taking (u) at 73 vessels and 150 men per vessel we get over 10,000 men under this one heading, so that the whole force was very likely not less than 15,000.

To this the Spartans had to oppose a total force of 420 hoplites together with 2940 Helots, *if* seven light-armed are to be reckoned as accompanying each hoplite.<sup>69</sup> But the whole account of the attack seems to point to the fact that no light-armed were present on the Spartan side during the engagement on the low ground, and again it is difficult to see how the attack of the Messenians who scaled the cliff could have been so decisive at the end of the action had not the Spartan numbers been very small. If such were the numbers, and it seems on examination that the proportion between the two sides must have been nearly as given above, it is impossible, even in a dry paper on topography, to pass over the fact without any reference to the considerations which it evokes. The plain truth is that the long struggle which began at the well under the High Cliff Hill and was carried on over the mile of low ground to the foot of the summit, and then up the steep

<sup>67</sup> Thuc. iv. 32, 2.

<sup>68</sup> *c.* Arnold, note to ch. 32.

<sup>69</sup> Thuc. iv. 8, 9.

ascent of the latter, must have been on the part of the Spartans one of the most creditable incidents in their great military history. Even in Thucydides' narrative the Athenians and their allies seem like a pack of yelping hounds around a dying lion within whose reach they dare not venture. The retreat must have been very slow even over the level ground: its character forbids any other supposition. The fight must have lasted nearly the whole day under a burning summer sun. The odds were immense, yet we hear of no wavering;<sup>70</sup> and the little body of men, though much reduced in numbers, is just as formidable at the end of the day as at the beginning. What a splendid fighting machine the Spartan army must have been! We know what was the opinion of the rest of Greece on the subject; we meet with its expression in some form or other in almost every chapter of Greek history, but it is only, perhaps, when we read the unvarnished tale of such a fight as that on Sphakteria, and call to our minds its full meaning, that we realize on what solid grounds the great reputation of Sparta among its contemporaries rested.

We now come to the description of the main attack.<sup>71</sup> An examination of the map will show that there is one omission in Thucydides' account which we can supply with a high amount of probability. It has been mentioned that the first outpost which the landing party of the Athenians attacked and overpowered was probably situated on the East or West Table Hill. These hills were almost certainly occupied in force by the 800 hoplites, while the rest of their troops landed to cover the disembarkation; and probably the shoulder of the High Cliff Hill was occupied also.

The seizing on the higher ground (*τῶν χωρίων τὰ μετεωρότατα λαβόντες*) evidently refers to the fact that during the whole of the engagement light troops kept along the ridge which runs along the bay shore of the island. The face of this ridge towards the low ground is so rugged that it is difficult for an unencumbered man to move at anything quicker than a slow walk upon it. To a hoplite it would be practically untraversable.<sup>72</sup>

The mode of attack of the light-armed is described in detail.<sup>73</sup> The helpless condition of the Spartan force exposed on such ground to an attack of this kind is vividly depicted.<sup>74</sup> The attack was in front, on both flanks, and on the rear.

The Spartans, unable to support the attack on the low ground, retreat to what is called *τὸ ἔσχατον ἔρυμα τῆς νήσου, ὃ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέειχε*.<sup>75</sup> The retreat must have been difficult, surrounded as they were by foes, and it was certainly over a longer distance than Thucydides supposed it to be.

<sup>70</sup> The only semblance of fear which is apparent in the whole of Thucydides' description is the consternation (*ἐκπληξίς*) which the Spartans felt when they found themselves exposed to a method of attack which was new to them, and to which they could not adequately reply. Then they are compelled to retreat, but the retreat is evidently conducted

without confusion (*συγκληίσαντες ἐχώρησαν* etc.), in close order, and this under circumstances of enormous difficulty and disadvantage.

<sup>71</sup> Thuc. iv. 32, 3.

<sup>72</sup> *c. Ib.* iv. 33, 2.

<sup>73</sup> *Ib.* iv. 33.

<sup>74</sup> *Ib.* iv. 31.

<sup>75</sup> *Ib.* iv. 35.

The point referred to is evidently the summit hill of the island. It was already garrisoned, and, when they had retired some distance up it, it would be impossible for the light troops working along the ridge to attack them from a superior position. With regard to the defence of and attack on this *ἔρυμα*, what probably happened is this. From the summit, as will be seen, the ground slopes away steeply on the north, west and south sides. On the east side is a cliff of some height which falls into a small hollow which intervenes between it and the jagged summit of the great cliff which on this side of the island goes down more than 300 feet sheer into the sea. We may conjecture that the Spartans, now reduced in numbers, made their last stand in a semicircle round the north, west and south sides of the summit; and Thucydides says that 'the Lacedaemonians defended themselves more easily than previously, it being impossible to outflank them.'<sup>76</sup> Here the Athenian force attacked them, without however making any impression.

A Messenian captain suggested the plan of taking the defenders in the rear, and said he could make his way along the cliffs in such a way as to do so. Thucydides describes his enterprise thus:—

'The struggle proving endless, the Messenian commander came to Kleon and Demosthenes and said that they were labouring to no purpose, but that if they would give him a division of archers and light-armed for him to get round to the rear of the foe by a way which he would find, he thought he could force the approach. Having got what he wanted, he started from a point out of sight of the enemy, making his way wherever the cliff of the island afforded a footing, and where the Lacedaemonians, trusting in the strength of the position, had no one on guard. With much trouble and difficulty he got round unobserved, and suddenly making his appearance above their heads,' etc.<sup>77</sup>

It would be ultra-refinement of topography to point to any possible way up or along the cliffs as we see them at present as the probable path of this Messenian captain and his band, but of some of the details of his adventure we can be fairly sure. In the first place it must be remembered that the success of the exploit would depend largely on his being able to appear on the summit suddenly with a fair number of his men. Had the last part of the climb been very difficult and only admitted of them getting up slowly one by one, they must have been cut down as they arrived, for the moment that they reached the summit their presence there would be apparent to the Spartans posted immediately beneath and around it. It is evident that this

<sup>76</sup> Thuc. iv. 35, 4.

<sup>77</sup> ἔπειδ' ἡ δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν, προσελθὼν ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατηγὸς Κλέωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς. εἰ δὲ βούλονται ἑαυτῶ δουῖναι τῶν τοξοτῶν μέρος τι καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, περιμέναι κατὰ ἄνω τούτοις ὁδῶν ἢ ἂν αὐτοὺς εὕρη, δοκεῖν βιάσασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον. λαβὼν δὲ ἅ

ἠτήσατο, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὁρμήσας ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους, κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρῆικον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου προβαίνων. καὶ ἥ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχυρὴ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλασσον, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ μόλις περιελθὼν ἔλαθε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξαπίνης ἀναφανείς, etc.—*Ib.* iv. 36.

captain knew or had been told by some of his men of the existence of the hollow between the summit and the top of the cliff, and that into this hollow he made his way. The existence of the hollow would be wholly unknown to any one who had not been on the actual summit, and therefore the plan must have been devised by some one who had previous acquaintance with the island. The actual summit is a collection of rocks. They would naturally not be occupied by the Spartan defenders, who would be in a semicircle round them on the hill slope. The ascent from the hollow to the summit would be up a comparatively low and broken cliff, which a fair number of men could ascend at once. It was this small rocky summit evidently which the Messenian captain seized. Once there he would, owing to its nature, be very difficult to dislodge, especially by men who were assailed on the other side by overwhelming numbers. No doubt he reached the hollow by climbing along the line of cliff either from the north or south, starting from a point behind the ring of Athenian assailants. That he climbed the main cliff from the sea seems impossible. There are places indeed between the summit and the Panagia Gap where a good climber could ascend, but none of these places are near the summit.

After this came the surrender. The rest of the story is not concerned with matters affecting the topography of the region.

*Some General Considerations suggested by the Results of the Investigation.*

Such then is the result of a fortnight's close investigation of the ground whereon the events which Thucydides describes in the earlier half of his fourth book took place. The writer can say with confidence what he was able to say of the field of Plataea—that he knows the ground better than he knows any area of equal size in his own country. That such is the case is not due to any peculiar conscientiousness in the conduct of the inquiry, but to the stern necessity which nature lays on one who would survey her face on a scale of eight inches to the mile. That necessity is such that, were the area mapped to be divided into squares of one acre each, it is extremely unlikely that any one of them would have remained untraversed by the surveyor, and many of them would have been traversed several, and no small number of them many times. The result is a knowledge of ground which cannot be obtained by any other means. It is perhaps necessary to mention these things in order to show that the writer has at any rate enjoyed unusual opportunities of learning the ground about which he has written.

It is impossible to close this paper without reference to the interesting though necessarily partial insight into Thucydides' method as an historian which we can obtain from a study of this part of his history. It must of course be stated emphatically that conclusions drawn from a small portion of Thucydides' work cannot and do not claim to have any general application. Still, if they should seem to be not wholly unfounded, they may contribute in some small measure to a larger judgment of the method which the historian



employed,—a judgment which must necessarily, in order to be of any value, be founded on a larger number of premisses than any single portion of the history can by itself supply. The writer's only plea for putting them forward at all is that he has, from the nature of the work, had to study this part of the history closely, and that he has been able to do this under peculiarly advantageous circumstances such as few can enjoy.

Thucydides himself, in Book i. ch. 22, is at some pains to explain the nature of the method he employed in seeking to arrive at historical truth: *τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρήν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθών. ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὐρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπερὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκατέρῃ τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχουσι.*

Of the opportunities he enjoyed for hearing both sides of the historical question he speaks in v. 26: *καὶ ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγὴν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθῆσθαι.*

This passage is, it need hardly be said, of peculiar significance in reference to the account of the sea fight in the Bay.

Before attempting to ascertain how far Thucydides carried out in his narrative of the events at Pylos the historical method which he lays down in his opening book, it will be necessary to examine certain main characteristics of the story.

In the first place, it may or may not have struck some of those who have studied the story carefully that it is divisible into two parts, which in certain respects stand to one another in marked contrast. The first part carries the tale up to the arrival of the Athenian fleet from Zakynthos, and closes at the end of the first section of the 13th chapter. The second includes the rest of the narrative. The first part may be called the 'Koryphasion,' the second the 'Sphakteria,' narrative. These two parts are contrasted in the following respects:—

- a. The topography of the first part is stated directly, of the second is to be gathered in the main by implication.
- b. The topography of the first part contains errors and some inconsistencies; the topography of the second part is singularly free from anything resembling incorrectness.

A table of the direct and implied topographical statements will show that the above contrasts are justified.

Part 1.	DIRECT TOPOGRAPHY.	IMPLIED TOPOGRAPHY.
'Koryphasion.'	1. Ch. 3, 2. Plenty of stone and timber in Pylos.	1. Ch. 1, 2. Surface of Pylos stony.
	2. „ „ Pylos strong by nature.	2. „ „ πηλός obtainable in immediate neighbourhood.
	3. „ „ Pylos and its neighbourhood uninhabited.	3. Ch. 9, 1. South wall of Koryphasion down near sea.
	4. „ „ Pylos is 400 stades from Sparta.	4. Ch. 11, 2. Practically only one possible landing place on Koryphasion.
	5. „ „ Lacedaemonians call Pylos Koryphasion.	
	6. Ch. 3, 3. There is a harbour close by it.	
	7. Ch. 4, 3. Major portion of Pylos sufficiently strong to need no wall.	
	8. Ch. 5, 2. Athenians build wall on parts of Pylos towards the mainland.	
	9. Ch. 8, 6. Sphakteria lying in front of the harbour makes it secure.	
	10. Ch. 8, 6. The entrances narrow.	
	11. „ „ Passage for two ships by one entrance, for eight or nine by other.	
	12. „ „ Sphakteria wooded and without paths.	
	13. „ „ Sphakteria about fifteen stades long.	
	14. Ch. 8, 8. No harbour outside Pylos.	
	15. Ch. 9, 2. Demosthenes and his men adopt the shore line of defence against attack on Koryphasion from the sea side.	
	16. „ „ Rocky nature of landing place on Koryphasion.	
	17. Ch. 13, 1. The north wall is κατά τὸν λιμένα.	

<i>Part 2.</i>	DIRECT TOPOGRAPHY.	IMPLIED TOPOGRAPHY.
'Sphakteria.'	1. Ch. 13, 4. The λιμὴν is not small.	1. Ch. 13, 3. The λιμὴν (now Bay of Navarino) a bad anchorage.
	2. Ch. 26, 2. Only one small spring in the Akropolis of Pylos.	2. Ch. 14, 1. Part of the shore of the harbour admitted of ships being beached on it.
	3. Ch. 26, 7. Guards placed about the landing places on the island.	3. Ch. 26, 3. The steep gradients of Korymbasion.
	4. Ch. 29, 4. Island wooded and uninhabited [repeated].	4. Ch. 26, 6. Landing places on the sea side of Sphakteria.
	5. Ch. 31, 2. The cliff on the bay side of the island summit.	5. Ch. 26, 8. Short distance of the island from the coast occupied by Peloponnesian forces (?).
	6. „ „ The old fortification on the summit.	6. Ch. 30, 2. The places on the island where the Athenians put in for meals.
	7. Ch. 33, 2. The rough nature of the ground on which the fight took place.	7. Ch. 31, 1 & Ch. 32, 1. Determination of points of landing of the Athenian force attacking the island.
	8. Ch. 35, 1. The fortification on the summit not far from the place where the battle began.	8. Ch. 31, 2. Southern plateau of Sphakteria never occupied by Spartans.
		9. Ch. 32, 3. The use made by the Athenian light-armed of the eastern ridge of the island.
		10. Ch. 35, 3. The nature of the position taken up by the Spartans round the summit supported by the local topography.
		11. Ch. 36, 1, 2, 3. Possibility of determining from details given the course taken by the Messenian captain and his band.

The contrast as it stands is in itself striking, but it becomes more so if the minor character of the direct topographical facts given in the second part when compared with those in the first part be noticed. Nearly the whole of the difficulty connected with Thucydides' account of the region is concentrated in the direct statements 9, 10, 11 and, in a different way, 17 of the first part, and the indirect statement No. 2 of the same part. Of the statements, direct or indirect, in the second part only direct statement No. 8 can be objected to as in any way inaccurate.

If the whole history of the operations be considered it will be seen that the change in the characteristic of the narrative takes place at that point in the tale where we should expect to find a change in the source of information from which the narrative is drawn. It is plain that the events on Koryphasion were described by an eye-witness. It is also improbable that that member of the garrison, for so he must have been, was transferred to the fleet after its arrival. He may have been, of course, but the probability is all the other way. That being so, it is also probable that the narrative of the events after the arrival of the fleet was derived by Thucydides from some person or persons who were on and arrived with the fleet. It may be objected to this argument that it is all one of probabilities, but it is manifest that in matters of this kind anything higher in assuredness than probability is rarely attainable, unless an unwarrantable certainty be assumed. The change of informants and the determination of the time at which the change took place are, however, so probable as almost to amount to certainty.

But, with the change of informants, comes a change in the centre of interest. In the first part of the story the interest is centred in Koryphasion and its neighbour the lagoon harbour: in the second part it is centred in Sphakteria and its neighbour the Bay of Navarino. It will be well at this point to refer briefly to the obvious cause of Thucydides' mistake on the harbour question.

Thucydides evidently got his information regarding the events on Koryphasion from a member of the garrison. It has been already pointed out that the narrative of events shows that the historian's informant was one of those with Demosthenes who resisted the attempt at landing made by the Peloponnesian fleet.

The silence of Thucydides as to the details not only of the first but of the subsequent attacks on the north wall gives rise to a strong suspicion that for the events at Koryphasion at any rate he relied on one informant and one only. During this time the harbour occupied by the Peloponnesian fleet was almost certainly the lagoon harbour, the bay being unoccupied,—being, in fact, not a centre of interest at all. It would therefore be exceedingly natural for the informant to refer to the lagoon harbour as 'the harbour,' and indeed we have in the words *τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος* (a practically indubitable description of the north wall) a striking example of such a reference. But after the arrival of the Athenian fleet the centre of interest is transferred to the Bay of Navarino, and the lagoon harbour, and even Koryphasion too, practically vanish from the story. With this change of

the centre of interest is a change, we may almost say a necessary change, in Thucydides' source of information. To him or to them who gave Thucydides the information as to what happened after the arrival of the Athenian fleet the Bay of Navarino would be 'the harbour' and he or they would speak of it as such. The historian evidently supposed that the 'harbour' spoken of by his respective informants was one and the same piece of water—a very natural mistake when we consider that the clue to the existence of the two could not be supplied to him, owing to the time of the change of centre of interest coinciding with the time of the change in the source of information.

This is the great mistake in Thucydides' topography, the mistake which colours the whole of the first part of his narrative and makes it so difficult to understand. Any one who reads the earlier part of the fourth book may feel that there is an indefinable something wanting in the story and yet in a sense there—an uncomfortable immaterial presence in the historical room which could, if materialized, explain the mystery and give us the clue to that which is incomprehensible. This ghost is the lagoon. In the second part the mistake vanishes from the story, and the narrative becomes remarkably clear and accurate.

In his account of Sphakteria Thucydides has plainly set himself to give a peculiarly detailed and, we may believe, accurate description of events. With a view to rendering his account more clear he has inserted into it a number of direct statements with regard to the topography of the region in which the events he describes took place. Taking Thucydides' history as a whole it is noticeable that in the three cases in which he really lays himself out to give lengthy descriptions of important military operations, namely in his descriptions of the operations at Plataea, Pylos, and Syracuse respectively, we find plain evidence of the fact that he, as his history progressed, became more and more conscious of the necessity of inserting topographical details for the right understanding of complicated military operations. He seems to have become indeed, as his work proceeded, more experienced as a military historian. From the topographical point of view, the Pylos narrative is half way, or more than half way, between the narratives of Plataea and Syracuse. In Plataea we have absolutely nothing resembling direct topography, save perhaps in the description of the route taken by the 212 who escaped from the town. In the Syracuse narrative we have a wealth of detail which, though apparently not easy to understand, is nevertheless on the whole capable of being proved to be correct in the opinion of modern investigators. In the Pylos narrative we have less detail, and among this a palpable mistake which confuses the whole story. Unfortunately, the mistake seems to have been Thucydides' own. He apparently had made up his mind that he knew the geography of the region about which he was writing, and as his tale was on the whole consistent in itself he remained in ignorance of the mistake he had made. But the mistake is essentially topographical not historical. It even confirms our faith in him as an historian to find that in spite of this great mistake most of the historical facts he relates are peculiarly supported by the state of the region at the present time. He must

have chosen his sources of information well, for the implied as well as the major part of the direct topography is so accurate. Of his sources of information we have already spoken. For some reason or other he seems to have relied for his history of the events at Koryphasion on a single individual. But that individual must have been a capable observer. The detail of blocking of the channels was very likely obtained from him, but the attributing of that operation to the two channels entering Navarino Bay is Thucydides' own idea in accordance with his conception of the geography. The one great inconsistency and seeming error in the historical part of the story is with reference to the naval battle in the bay, and that is possibly due to the historian having used information obtained from a Lacedaemonian source in that part of his narrative. It would however be a failure of candour not to admit, reluctantly perhaps, but still to admit, that the failure to give the true causes of the surprise of the Peloponnesian fleet is a somewhat glaring defect. The causes suggested in this paper may not be, those stated by Thucydides manifestly are not, the true ones. Nor, unfortunately, can we acquit Thucydides on the ground that he had not sufficient military experience to enable him to perceive the defects of the tale as related by him. Throughout the whole of the Pylos narrative the historian displays a suppressed but noticeable tendency to make the most of the share taken by Demosthenes in the whole design and its carrying out, and this, too, perhaps, at the expense of Eurymedon and his colleague. Can it have been that, in accordance with this plan, he made little of what was in one sense the turning-point in the history of the mutual blockades, because Demosthenes could not claim a share in it? The suggestion may be an injustice to the historian, but it is an injustice to which he exposes himself by a manifest lack of that careful inquiry after historical truth which he himself claims to have instituted with regard to the events which he relates. After that the story is, as far as can be judged at the present time, of peculiar accuracy, and of a completeness in marked contrast to the many obvious omissions in similar narratives in Herodotus, Polybius or Livy. Such then are the seeming facts which may be arrived at by a study of this chapter of Greek history. They were not arrived at in the present case by any sudden or happy inspiration, but by a minute and somewhat laboured examination. The decision as to whether such work as this is of any real value as a contribution to history must be left to others than the writer. He, as it will be seen, takes the perhaps prejudiced view that if some of the greatest work in history is to retain its proper place in the education of a critical age, its truth must stand on some securer foundation than mere faith.

NOTE A.—*On some pre-existing Maps of the Region.*

(1) *That of Captain Smyth as given in Arnold's Thucydides.*

General outline more accurate than the Admiralty survey. Not contoured. Fails, especially on Palaeo-Kastro, to give any idea of the cliffs. Important

mistake in placing the summit of the ridge on Sphagia between the Panagia (called in this map Marabut) and the Santa Rosa landing, near the middle of the island, whereas it is on the extreme east edge, and where the summit of the ridge is shown low ground, as a fact, exists.

(2) *Admiralty Survey*, dated 1865. Not contoured. General features of island of Sphagia accurate, save that the apparent peak marked 160 in the south of the island does not exist as such.

The wall is much too far north.

On Palaeo-Kastro the outline of the mediaeval fort is evidently sketched in, and is wrong.

The shape of Voithio-Kilia is all wrong. Its entrance is given on the map as 289 yards in width, the actual dimension being 172 yards.

The hill of Agio Nikolo is shown with two summits. The northern is intended evidently to represent the main summit of the hill. It is too near the sea. The southern one can only be intended to represent the summit of the semi-detached hill over the mouth of the Bay of Voithio-Kilia. It ought to be quite close to the bay.

For the purposes for which it is intended the land features of this map are no doubt given accurately enough. I have only noted the inaccuracies lest they should lead to misconception in case the map were used with Thucydides' History.

(3) *Map in Curtius' Peloponnesus*, vol. ii. *ad fin.* Includes only Agio Nikolo, Palaeo-Kastro and the north end of Sphagia.

On the whole a very good map, save that the Voithio-Kilia entrance is too wide, and the area covered by the mediaeval fort is far too large.

The various maps found in histories of Greece and editions of Thucydides are apparently copies of either (1) or (2). In several cases I have noticed that serious mistakes have been made in the copying.

#### NOTE B.—*The Pylos of Homer.*

Though the main object of the survey was to find, if possible, some solution of the difficulties respecting Sphacteria, yet it will be easily imagined that I looked for traces of the Pylos of the Mykenaeon period. Its site is as yet undetermined. Schliemann sought for it on Palaeo-Kastro. The traces of the tentative excavations which he made there are visible now. They were evidently of a slight kind, but they seem to have satisfied him that if the Homeric Pylos were on that hill, all evidence of its existence has perished. Nor is this surprising. The Pylos of Pausanias almost certainly stood there, and the mediaeval fortress is a vast memorial of its occupation in later times. These successive occupations of the site have destroyed apparently all traces of anything that was anterior to them, for, as far as can be seen, the rock is very near the surface, so that there is but little prospect that there are remains buried, as at Hissarlik, beneath the ruins at present visible.

After having seen Palaeo-Kastro and its surroundings I did not, I confess, regard it as a likely site for the Pylos for whose traces I was looking. I could not doubt that at so remote a period the channel through Voithio-Kilia into the lagoon harbour was open, and that Palaeo-Kastro was an island. It was consequently to Agio Nikolo that I turned my attention. The first day on which I was on that hill, the only point that I noticed was that the upper part of the hill was terraced. These terraces are evidently slightly cultivated and are supported at their edges, which are two or three feet high, by small stones or rocks laid loosely on one another, on a base of much larger stones, of no very regular shape or size, and to a great extent buried in the earth. I felt pretty certain that these lower stones were deliberately placed there, and that at some ancient date; but still the indications were not such as to fill the archaeologist with the joy of a notable discovery.

On the next day I was again at Agio Nikolo. I wanted to get sight from the face of it on to the north wall of the fort on Palaeo-Kastro. Seeing a flat space of ground hollowed out of the side of the hill, something like a shallow quarry, I made for that, planted my instruments in the middle of it, and took sights for about half an hour. Stopping for a moment in the course of the work (to light my pipe, as a fact), I noticed that I had planted my table in the middle of what had evidently been an enclosure of very large stones. The reason that I had not noticed it before was that the surface of the stones was practically flush with the ground, and they were worn on the surface by weathering and other causes into an irregular shape. This enclosure was of the shape of a regular ellipse, with a major axis of thirty-six yards at right angles to the line of the slope of the hill, and a minor axis of thirty yards on the line of slope. The stones, it was apparent, were of large size. The general characteristics reminded me of the stone circle at Mykenae, which I had but lately seen. Of course there were in this case no upright slabs, nor was it a circle proper, as, if I remember rightly, the enclosure at Mykenae is, but the departure from the circular form is in this case possibly due to its position on the flat space carved out of the hill slope. This space is, I am almost sure, artificial. It commands a magnificent view of the lagoon and Navarino Bay. That it deserves further examination I am sure. Time and money would not have allowed me to do any extensive digging, and as tentative digging would have been disastrous in proportion to its success, I left it alone, though I had a permit with me allowing excavation. Had I discovered anything, and then had to stop my work, every peasant in the neighbourhood would have tried his hand at it with a view to possible treasure. The site will, I hope, be examined during the course of the present autumn <sup>75</sup> by Mr. Cecil Smith, the Director of the British School at Athens. My chief fear is that there remains but little depth of earth upon it, and that, consequently, one of the chief sources of the supply of what is interesting and valuable will not be present.

Though there cannot be any certainty about the site until excavation

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<sup>75</sup> Written Oct. 1895.



has been done, still it may be interesting to examine with reference to this neighbourhood the various details with regard to Pylos which we can gather from the *Odyssey*. They do not amount to a great deal and any correspondence they may have to the local circumstances is, possibly, accidental, and their slight character makes it further possible that they may be applicable to other places also; but I suppose that the discoveries of late years have tended, at any rate, to create an impression that what we are told in the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* is not purely mythical as a description of the life and times of which it pretends to treat. The knowledge possessed by the author of the island of Ithaca renders it something more than possible that he knew the city of Nestor, which would be a station on the voyage from the settlements in the western isles of Greece to the main centres of Mykenaeen civilization in Argos, Lakonia, and Krete. The references to Pylos in Homer read very much like those of a man who knew the place from touching at it in the course of a voyage, but did not know it well.

εἰμι γὰρ ἐς Σπάρτην τε καὶ ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα.<sup>79</sup>

The term 'sandy' is, needless to say, the well-known epithet of Pylos in Homer. Sandy shores are the exception, not the rule, on the rocky coasts of Greece. Now the sandy shore in this neighbourhood *begins* at the north end of Agio Nikolo and extends in a long unbroken line northward to the point opposite the island of Proté. South of Agio Nikolo the shore is all rocky and mostly cliff. The sandy nature of the neighbourhood is of course a very marked feature of the locality.

Between Agio Nikolo and the hill north of it the country is all sand, and it is more than likely that the lagoon harbour had a sandy coast at that time. Curtius and Leake both use the epithet *ἡμαθόεις* as an argument for the existence of sand hills on the site of the present lagoon. But the existence of sand in such quantities as are found in this neighbourhood is sufficiently rare in Greece with its usually rocky coasts to account for the use of the epithet in the *Odyssey*.

οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηλῆος εὐκτίμενον πολίεθρον,  
ἴξον· τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης ἱερὰ ῥέζον,  
ταύρους παμμέλανας, ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτη.  
ἐννέα δ' ἔδραι ἔσαν, πεντακόσιοι δ' ἐν ἐκάστη  
εἵατο, καὶ προὔχοντο ἐκάστοθι ἐννέα ταύρους.<sup>80</sup>

Assuming Agio Nikolo to be the site of Pylos this scene must have taken place on the sandy beach immediately north of it. May not the poet be describing some scene he has himself witnessed when touching at Pylos?

ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἡγήσατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
καρπαλίμως· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα μετ' ἵχνια βαίνει θεοῖο.  
ἴξον δ' ἐς Πυλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄγυρ' ἰν τε καὶ ἔδρας,  
ἐνθ' ἄρα Νέστωρ ἦστο σὺν υἱάσιν, ἀμφὶ δ' ἐταῖροι  
δαῖτ' ἐντυνόμενοι κρέα τ' ὥππων ἄλλα τ' ἔπειρον.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Hom. *Od.* ii. 211.

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.* iii. 1.

<sup>81</sup> *Ib.* iii. 29.

We can only gather from this that the town was not at the landing place, which would be the case if it were at the top of Agio Nikolo.

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ὁ μὲν πεδίονδ' ἐπὶ βοῦν ἵτω, etc.<sup>82</sup>

The town was, then, on a hill. The plain would be that of Lykos.

The same fact is deducible from line 429.

τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην  
ἐς πεδίον, λιπέτην δὲ Πύλον αἰπὺν πτολίεθρον.<sup>83</sup>

We have here further confirmation of the fact that the city was on a hill. Moreover it was on a hill attached to, not separated from, the mainland. The plain referred to here would be that of Lykos.

There is a fact noted in line 495 of this book which has, I understand, been looked upon as a difficulty in the description of the journey to Sparta. I refer to the words:

ἴξον ἐς πεδίον πυρηφόρον.<sup>84</sup>

Surely this can be no other than the notoriously fertile Messenian plain. They came to it on the day after leaving Pylos. This would probably be the case.

It must not be supposed that this is put forward as serious topography. I only wish to point out that the few details we can gather from Homer accord with the situation of the city on Agio Nikolo.

G. BEARDOE GRUNDY.

*Note on the Map of Koryphasion showing Positions of Attack and Defence.*

In the course of a discussion following the reading of a paper on the subject of Sphakteria at a meeting of the Hellenic Society on March 30th of this year, Dr. Walter Leaf pointed out to me that it was difficult to imagine that the outer line of ships in the Sikia Channel could have been drawn up with one end of the line abutting on the hostile shore of Koryphasion. The objection is undoubtedly a strong one, and is one which had occurred to myself. Dr. Leaf thought that the conjecture of a line of ships in that position could hardly be supported. I admitted that an error in draughtsmanship had placed the northernmost vessel of the line too close to the shore in the map shown at the meeting. Dr. Leaf then urged that unless that vessel were close in shore the channel could not be effectively blocked. My answer to this was and is that owing to the nature of that shore, which is sufficiently described in dealing with the attack of the ships on the promontory, the northernmost vessel of the line might be practically beyond the reach of such missiles as the Athenians on shore would have at their disposal, and yet be near enough in to render it dangerous, if not impossible, for an enemy's ship to pass between it and the shore, owing to the presence of rocks both above water and awash off that shore. I feel that there is very strong reason to assume from Thucydides' account of what happened on the arrival of the Athenian fleet that on the first day the Peloponnesian fleet was in some strong defensive position which maintained the communication with the island; and without setting up any claim to absolute certainty with regard to my interpretation of that position, yet I think that it must have been something like what I have shown on the map. Thucydides shows that the moment that this position was lost, communication with the island was cut off, for he says, after describing the naval battle on the day following the first arrival of the Athenian fleet, καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐθὺς περιέπλεον καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειλημένων.—G.B.G.

<sup>82</sup> Hom. *Od.* iii. 421.

<sup>83</sup> *Ib.* iii. 484.

<sup>84</sup> *Ib.* iii. 495.

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## PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA.

## [PLATE VIII.]

## PLATE VIII. FIGURES 1 AND 2.

These two prints are reproductions from the fine, and not sufficiently well known illustrations of M. Bory de Saint-Vincent (*Expédition Scientifique de Morée, Section des Sciences Physiques*. Atlas, Plates IX., X.).

Although not reproducing details with the accuracy of photographs, they convey a correct general impression.

FIG. 1.—View of Palaeo-Kastro (Pylos), looking north-north-west. Taken from the north slope of Sphagia (Sphacteria). The Sikia Channel lies in the foreground.

The low detached rocks on the west, or sea, side, where Brasidas made his attack, are suggested, though not worked out all their distance. The south-east corner, abutting on the southern sand-bar of the lagoon, is not worked out.

FIG. 2.—View of Palaeo-Kastro (Pylos), looking south-west. Taken from the north shore of the bay of Boidia Koilia, which lies in the foreground, with Hagio Nicolo to the right. Sphagia (Sphacteria) is outlined in the background to the left.

The ideas suggested in this paper as to the natural defences of Pylos on the north and east sides are well illustrated by this print.

It is with some diffidence that I publish the following paper. It is indeed the result of considerable study of the literature of the subject, and of the best of a week's work on the spot last autumn. But unfortunately I never expected, when I went to Pylos, that I should have so much to say about it, and I took with me neither leave to excavate, nor appliances for measurements and photography. I feel therefore that my views can scarcely in the nature of things carry with them the same weight as those which Mr. Grundy has based on the detailed survey which he conducted under the auspices of the University of Oxford a week or two before my visit. I am afraid our conclusions on certain points may prove to differ. My documentary evidence is at present non-existent,<sup>1</sup> and my measurements are one and all rough and approximate. I can only ask Mr. Grundy and the reader to remember that I spent more than forty hours exploring the ground, and that, as survey work was unhappily out of the question, I had thus ample time to form an opinion on the topography of what is after all a very limited area.

<sup>1</sup> I hope to have some plans and photographs forthcoming for an early number of the *Journal*. The plan which accompanies this paper is quite rough, and, though I hope it

may make it easier for the reader to follow my line of argument, it lays no claim to being final or scientific.

The first question we have to face is the identification of Pylos and Sphacteria. Leake's view, which has since been generally accepted, is that the long island of Sphagia was Thucydides' Sphacteria, and the promontory of Palaeo-Kastro his Pylos. Where we have to deal so largely in probabilities, it is satisfactory to be able to begin with a definite assertion. Leake's view is undoubtedly the correct one. Apart from any identification of walls, a close inspection of the ground renders it a certainty. It will be remembered by those who have studied the question that the recognized alternative to Leake's view,<sup>2</sup> is to transfer operations to the north, and to maintain that the promontory we now consider Pylos was in those days the island of Sphacteria, and that the piece of ground on the other side of Boidia Koilia, which we may call by its modern name of Hagio Nikolo, was the ancient Pylos. There are indeed difficulties in the orthodox view which such a change of topography might diminish,<sup>3</sup> and it is certainly possible that at some period of history our Pylos was an island.<sup>4</sup> But it is useless to discuss the minor advantages which this view would entail in the face of three insuperable objections.

(1) Hagio Nikolo could not possibly have been Pylos. It is not a defensible position at all, and so far from answering to Thucydides' description, and only standing in need of a wall for less than half its extent,<sup>5</sup> it would have needed a strong wall to guard at least two-thirds of it.<sup>6</sup>

(2) It is inconceivable that two islands should have existed in front of Pylos.<sup>7</sup> The orthodox Sphacteria is too near for Prote,<sup>8</sup> which is satisfactorily

<sup>2</sup> Suggested in Dr. Arnold's *Thucydides*.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* the southern as well as the northern entrance to the λιμήν is reduced to a manageable breadth. But we may answer that there is no διάπλους for eight or nine ships in the Sikia Channel. And it could scarcely have been four times broader than that at Boidia Koilia.

Again, by assuming, with Arnold, that μέγεθος (Thuc. iv. 8, 6) can refer, not only to length, but to circumference, we can harmonize the statement that Sphacteria was about fifteen stades in μέγεθος.

<sup>4</sup> Our Pylos would be a not impossible, though inefficient, Sphacteria. Identification of the description is difficult, *e.g.* there is no level ground in the middle, and there are no κατάρσεις on the west (Th. iv. 26, 7).

<sup>5</sup> Th. iv. 5, 3, τὸ γὰρ πλεον τοῦ χωρίου αὐτὸ καρπερὸν ὑπῆρχε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχεως. Not only could the amount of walling necessary for Hagio Nikolo by no efforts have been completed in the time, but Demosthenes could not have picked out such a position as naturally defensible. Arnold is quite misleading in the Memoir at the end of his second volume.

<sup>6</sup> I went over the ground carefully, and am

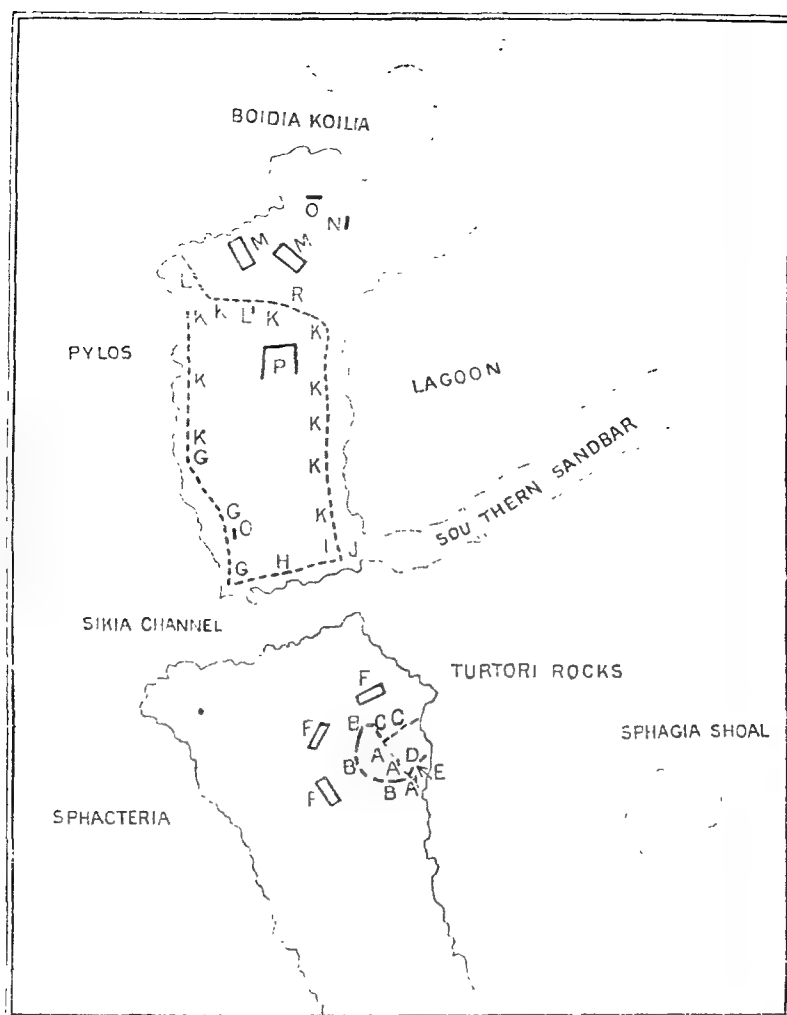
convinced that this is no exaggeration.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.* there would have been a place for the Athenians to anchor, both before the battle in the harbour (Th. iv. 13, 3), and after the blockade had begun (ib. 26, 3).

The triremes could easily have been drawn up both on the eastern side of our Sphacteria, where the chapel now stands, and at several places on the western side. There also would have been no lack of space, and no need for taking their meals on shore by relays (ib. 26, 3, στενοχωρία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐγίγνετο καὶ τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχουσῶν ὕμνον αἱ μὲν σίτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ῥροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, αἱ δὲ μετέωροι ὄρουσαν).

Again, if the southern entrance to the λιμήν was at the Sikia Channel, could it be described as πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἡπειρον (ib. 8, 6)? If our Sphacteria were Prote, the description would have been πρὸς Πρώτην τὴν νῆσον. If an unnamed island, πρὸς ἄλλην τινὰ νῆσον. In either case the description πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἡπειρον would be unintelligible.

<sup>8</sup> Prote is of course out of the question, because Thuc. iv. 26, 3 shows it was no use to the Athenians for the blockade, which it must have been if so near.



ROUGH PLAN.

Illustrating the views expressed in this paper as to the disposition of the Athenian and Spartan forces on Pylos and Sphacteria.

- |      |  |    |   |
|------|--|----|---|
| A    | Summit of Mount Elias.   |    | outside which he drew up his men on the <i>ραχία</i> .                              |
| BB   | Remains of the <i>παλαιὸν ἔρυμα</i> which Schliemann presumably meant to describe.   | II | Wall of Demosthenes along the shore of the Sikia Channel.                           |
| CC   | Further remains of the <i>παλαιὸν ἔρυμα</i> running across the north-west side of a hollow.                                | I  | Wall of Demosthenes which the Spartans meant to attack with <i>μηχαναί</i> .        |
| D    | Traces of a wall of the <i>παλαιὸν ἔρυμα</i> which ran on the south of the hollow, and which the Spartans did not defend.  | J  | Position from which they would have attacked it.                                    |
| A'A' | That part of Mount Elias which bounds the hollow on the west and south-west, and prevents approach to it from these sides. | KK | Part of Demosthenes' line of defence which required no wall.                        |
| E    | Gorge by which the Messenians ascended to the hollow and got to the rear of the Spartans.                                  | L  | Possible wall of Demosthenes of which remains still exist.                          |
| FF   | The main body of the Athenians as they directed their attack <i>τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας</i> .                               | L' | Remains of stonework in form of inverted pyramid strengthening weak point in cliff. |
| GG   | Wall of Demosthenes <i>πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος</i> ,   | MM | Spartans attacking <i>τῶ κατὰ γῆν στρατῶ</i> .                                      |
|      |  | OO | Fragments of walls resembling in style those built by Epaminondas at Messene.       |
|      |  | N  | Fragments of possible Cyclopean gateway.  |
|      |  | P  | Mediaeval fortress.   |
|      |  | R  | Nestor's Cave.  |

N.B. - The letters A, J, and R are printed so as to cover the ground they refer to. E is The other letters by the lines adjacent to them.



identified at a natural distance further north, and a glance at the map will be enough to show us that the existence in this position of an unmentioned island would have interfered at every point with the progress of events.

(3) Sphacteria itself, the orthodox Sphacteria, must be the place where the great fight took place, and the Spartans fell. Not only does every detail of the last struggle correspond, but every step that led up to it can be followed. The most level part of the island is where you would expect it, in the very centre, and there too, still existing, is the one and only spring of water.<sup>9</sup> Neither could the main body of the Spartans, stationed here, nor even the detachment in the old fort at the northern peak, see the small body which guarded the southern extremity. The Athenian hoplites could overwhelm them, and mount the belt of hills on the immediate south of the central plain, without once raising an alarm.<sup>10</sup> More than this, every landing-place on the east side is out of sight both from the central plain and the northern peak, and the light-armed forces of the Athenians could gather unnoticed.<sup>11</sup> When the main body of Spartans near the well saw the hoplites who had overpowered their advanced guard marshalled on the southern hills, and moved forward to meet them,<sup>12</sup> these light-armed troops climbed the hills to their east, threatened their flank, and even got round to their rear along one of the low ridges which run across the central plain, and almost stretch to the western sea. Very truly Epitadas and his men were attacked in front, in rear, in flank. On the western side alone the Athenians could not hope to pass between them and the sea.<sup>13</sup>

When again Epitadas turned, and forced his way back to the north, we can follow his course, and see his difficulties. We can notice the rugged ground and stunted brushwood, and the long low line of hills stretching along the east, and now and again sending a ridge down into the centre of the plain.<sup>14</sup>

Even the last struggle is made clear and vivid for us. It can scarcely be a coincidence that on the north peak there exist to this day remains of fortifications which stand exactly where the *παλαιὸν ἔρμα* must have stood, behind whose walls the Spartans entrenched themselves.<sup>15</sup> As early as 1865 the composer of the British Admiralty Chart marked 'Cyclopean Ruins' on the north peak of Sphacteria, and in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (xiv. p. 132) there is a short single page account of a paper in which on the 23rd of January, 1889, Schliemann announced his discovery of about forty metres of an undoubtedly ancient fort, 'exactly where Thucydides would lead us to expect it.' The curious point is that, just as the note in the Admiralty Chart seems to have been unknown to Schliemann, who claims that no travellers have noticed the fort before him, so even Schliemann's own work, perhaps because described

<sup>9</sup> Thuc. iv. 31, 2, μέσον δὲ καὶ ὁμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* iv. 32, 1, λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.* iv. 32, 2 and 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.* iv. 33, 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.* iv. 32, 3 and 33, 1, ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ κατὰ νώτου.

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.* iv. 35, 1 and 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.* iv. 31, 2.

at so much less length than most of what he did, has attracted little attention. Dr. Dörpfeld has written to me that he knows of nothing published on the subject since Schliemann's essay, and this could hardly be the case, if scholars fully realized its importance. Indeed, in England, it is scarcely known at all, and has not found its way into any of the text-books on Thucydides.<sup>16</sup>

Schliemann, as I have said, only noticed about forty metres of the fort, and his description of the three rows of big stones, which still stand in their places, leads me to think that what he saw was the line of wall which lies on the north-west, west, and south-west slopes of the highest peak. Before I show that this view of the fort's extent, which for a long time was mine also, is too limited, I had better describe in fuller detail the nature of the ground.

The top peak in the island of Sphacteria, which, for clearness' sake, we had better call by its modern name of Mt. Elias, lies in the north-east of the island, and directly faces Pylos. On the west, south-west, and north-west sides, the ground slopes up to Mt. Elias gradually, and here, some yards below the actual summit, runs the wall which Schliemann saw. Its shape is preserved to a degree one could hardly have expected. It begins both south-west and north-west in a curved line, following the shape of the hill, but the whole of the long western side is broken up by four projecting rectangular bastions. The stones are large and rough, and, except at one point, which I will consider later, I could not see the smallest trace of mortar, nor any other sign of mediaeval workmanship.<sup>17</sup> The wall is at points almost perfect for two, or even three, layers of stones, and in one place is still about 3 feet 6 inches high. Some of the best preserved fragments are hidden by a thick undergrowth of wild olive, wild strawberry, and other trees. Was it here then, and only here, that the Spartans entrenched themselves? At first sight it looks more than probable. They would have had their backs to the peak of the hill, and the ascent to it on the eastern side is an affair of climbing, and might perhaps be considered too difficult to need defending. The way that the Messenians came round was, on this hypothesis, the slope on the extreme north of Mt. Elias. They would follow up this path to the east, and mount the summit on that side.

But the longer one looks at the place, the more untenable does this

<sup>16</sup> Adolf Holm, too, even in the English translation of his *History*, which has had the benefit of his corrections up to 1895, is astoundingly inadequate. He ignores not only Schliemann's researches at Pylos and Sphacteria, but even Leake's. After indulging in some *a priori* reflections, he sums up in these words: 'The inference is that the details of the fighting at Pylos were, as some one has remarked, invented by Thucydides as a counter-part to Plataea, in order to show how a place ought not to be besieged' (chap. xxiii. n. 11). As at the beginning of his note he says 'The

history of the taking of Pylos etc. has no doubt been accurately narrated by Thucydides,' we are at a loss as to whether this piece of Muller-Strubingism is a joke or a contradiction. In any case his treatment of the facts is unscientific.

<sup>17</sup> I hope to have photographs of all the walls which I attempt to identify published hereafter in the *Journal*. For their approximate position see my plan, and the key which accompanies it. As this gives full details, it will not be necessary to refer to the plan again during the course of the paper.

view become. Mt. Elias does not slope on the eastern side directly into the sea. It falls into a hollow about eighty feet below the summit, and at an interval of about fifty yards rises again into a lesser peak, which in its turn falls precipitously into the harbour. This lesser peak does not run for long parallel with Mt. Elias, and near its southern extremity bends in towards it. But about thirty yards before it has reached it, almost opposite to the southern point of the curved wall, the lesser peak ceases to be a peak at all, and loses itself in a steep gorge, which reaches down into the water. It is only further west, as an almost direct southern continuation of Mt. Elias, that the line of sea cliffs rises again to any height. The dip or hollow, then, between the top of Mt. Elias, and the less lofty line of sea cliffs, widens towards the north, and narrows towards the south, and so narrow does it finally become, that there is only a yard or two between the southern extremity of the curved wall, and the point where the gorge ends, and the eastern sea line becomes once again a precipitous cliff. You could not, in fact, get into the dip which lies on the east of the summit of Mt. Elias, without passing within sword distance of this curved wall, or else going right round by the west to the northern slope. For on the north side there is no difficulty, and the hollow slopes gradually away into the narrow Sikia channel, between the island and Pylos.

Now of course it would be quite easy for the Messenians to disembark at this channel, go straight up into the hollow till they arrived due east of the summit of Mt. Elias, and then climb it from this side, and take the Spartans in the rear. For, according to our hypothesis, the Spartans were facing west, south-west, and north-west, and even from the north-west corner of the wall it would be impossible to see a force landing where I have described.<sup>18</sup> But the hypothesis assumes both the Spartans and Athenians to have been intolerably foolish, and assigns all the success of the plan to luck, and not to the daring of the Messenians. Granting that the Spartans considered that the eastern side of the summit was impregnable, and that it was out of the question for any one to approach the hollow from the north, it would have needed no mountaineers to effect the surprise. All the language of Thucydides leads us to think that their achievement was a great one: *ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὁρμήσας ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου προσβαίνων, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ μόλις περιελθὼν ἔλαθε.*<sup>19</sup> I am a bad climber, and I entirely decline to believe that the approach to the hollow from the north, which I did without once using my hands and knees, and the subsequent ascent of the summit from the east, which I effected with almost as little difficulty, could ever have been treated as a great achievement.

But could the Spartans have been foolish enough to leave such an easy approach unguarded? Would it not be obvious to those of them who were on the north-west side, that, apart from all question of a surprise, the

<sup>18</sup> But those stationed on the north-west could certainly have seen them as they ascended the

hollow, if they had turned their heads.

<sup>19</sup> Thuc. iv. 36, 2.

hollow could be reached by any of the main body of the Athenians who chose to move round that way? And could the Athenians have failed to move round, directly they found that they were making no head-way on the west? Would they have fought on there the greater part of the day,<sup>20</sup> would the battle have come to a standstill, would the Messenian general have had to come forward as a *deus ex machina*,<sup>21</sup> before such a simple change of attack had been attempted? It is inconceivable. The Athenians must long before have passed round to the east of the summit—if they could have done so. This is the whole point. They could not have done so. Right across the hollow, from the line of sea cliffs to a north-east point in the slope of Mt. Elias, and thence curving round it till it meets the north-west corner of Schliemann's wall, is another line of fortification, completely hidden to this day, over almost its whole length, by a thick overgrowth of brushwood. This it was that prevented the Athenians taking the Spartans on the rear. This was as much part of the Spartan line of defence as Schliemann's wall on the west.

There are two further considerations which show how inadequate was our former hypothesis as an explanation of the facts. In the first place, the space between the summit of the hill and the western wall is far too small for the many hundreds of Spartans and Helots who still survived.<sup>22</sup> And there is no room on the summit behind them for the Messenians to have taken up a position in such numbers that the Spartans considered themselves surrounded,<sup>23</sup> and laid down their arms. Secondly, Thucydides does not say that the Spartans left unguarded that part of the summit, but that part of the fortification which they thought impregnable.<sup>24</sup> But, on the other hypothesis, whatever fortification existed was guarded, and the surprise was effected on the side where there was no fortification.

Our conclusion is, then, that the Athenian attack and the Spartan defence extended from the south point of Mt. Elias to where the wall across the hollow is bounded by the line of sea cliff. Ample room is thus given for the Spartan forces, and we have not to assume that both sides were guilty of gross tactical blunders. The battle naturally came to a standstill, and the Athenian generals asked each other how they could possibly surround a force defended by a strong wall on every side where they could be approached by land. Then it was that the Messenians came to the rescue, and it was brilliant strategy and good climbing by which they won.

The gap in the cliffs at the south end of the hollow is not impassable. I did not climb the whole way up myself, but I got more than half-way, and both from that point and from the top could trace a clear path by which a good mountaineer could finish the ascent. For the Messenians to reach the bottom re-embarkation would of course be necessary, and it is

<sup>20</sup> Thuc. iv. 35, 4, τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας.

<sup>21</sup> *Ib.* iv. 35, 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ib.* iv. 35, 2, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ διαφυγόντες etc.

<sup>23</sup> *Ib.* iv. 36, 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ib.* iv. 35, 2, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα μετὰ τῶν ταύτη φυλάκων ἐτάξαντο παρὰ πᾶν ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι ἢ περ ἦν ἐπίμαχον.

interesting to note that a body of men re-embarking at the centre point of the east side of the island, where the little chapel now stands, could reach the foot of the gorge without once coming into view of even the south extremity of the wall. More than this, they could disembark at the foot of the gorge, and climb in considerable numbers to within a few feet of its topmost point, without a chance of being seen. Indeed, except for any men who might have been standing within one or two yards of the south-east extremity of the wall, twenty men could have reached the south end of the hollow and got a firm footing before any of the enemy had caught sight of them.<sup>25</sup> It was of course easy for the Athenians to direct their attack for the moment to other sides than the south-east, and thus, without exciting suspicion, to draw off the few men who were stationed at this extreme corner.

Before I could accept this theory, I had first to satisfy myself by a personal experiment that the Messenians who had just reached the top of the gorge could be seen by their allies who were attacking from the land side. They were certainly out of sight of those on the west of Mt. Elias. Its summit rose eighty feet between them. On descending however to a point in the hollow below the north Spartan wall, where the Athenians would of course be carrying on their attack as vigorously as on the west, I was easily able to see my dragoman, as he played the Messenian on the high sea cliffs, a few yards from the top of the gorge. And we thus verified the direct statement of Thucydides, that the sight of the Messenians on the sky-line—in mid-air, as he puts it—behind the Spartans, encouraged the Athenian forces, and made them redouble their attack.<sup>26</sup>

Thucydides is confirmed in another particular, that it was a part of the fort which was left unguarded by which the Messenians effected their surprise. There are distinct traces of a wall running along the south side of the hollow, a few feet from the top of the gorge. I have no doubt that it was this wall which the Spartans, naturally enough, thought impregnable, and which, notwithstanding, the Messenians found no obstacle when they had once climbed the gorge. Again, not only is there on this view ample room for the Spartans to move, but also for the Messenians to take up a position behind them, in force, without at once coming to close quarters. There is a good hundred yards between the north and south walls of the hollow.

I think then that it is a certainty that the battle was thus fought. The lie of the ground, and the strategical necessities of the case, follow so fully the position of the walls, that even should it be maintained that some part of them is of mediaeval workmanship, I should none the less believe that it was a mere superstructure on the foundation of the original fort. There is certainly reason to think that, at the beginning of

<sup>25</sup> Thuc. iv. 36, 2, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὀρμήσας etc. quoted above.

<sup>26</sup> *Ib.* iv. 36, 2, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετέωρου

ἐξαπίης ἀναφανείς κατὰ νότου αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ ἐξέπληξε, τοὺς δὲ ἅ προσεδέχοντο ἰδόντας πολλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσε.

this century, there stood some building on the peak which could be represented by Leake and others as a mediaeval watch-tower.<sup>27</sup> There seemed to me to be traces of a square platform of close-set stones at the extreme south-east corner of Schliemann's wall, and a watch-tower may well have stood on it.

It is interesting to remark that it would be easy for any one who saw a tower at this corner, to miss altogether the existence of the extended line of wall. For it is this corner alone which a man, walking from the centre of the Island, would pass on his way to the actual summit. The wall to the immediate west is well hidden, and it needs a careful search to discover the better preserved parts.<sup>28</sup>

Even in regard to the whole fortification it would be indeed rash to dogmatize. Mr. Loring's article on the fortress of Sellasia in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1895, and the criticisms which he there tells us (p. 74) that Dr. Dörpfeld passed on his conclusions as to the Cyclopean or Hellenic character of some of the fortifications, would be enough to prove to us, if proof were needed, that there is scarcely a subject in Greek Archaeology on which there is greater uncertainty than the even approximate dating of stone walls. But I confess that I do not believe that any one who compares these rugged stones, unconnected by mortar or tiling, with the elaborate workmanship of the Venetian castle, less than a mile away on Pylos, will doubt that they are the *ἔργμα παλαιὸν λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον* of which Thucydides tells us.<sup>29</sup>

Yet there are real difficulties in reconciling the orthodox view of the whole question with Thucydides' narrative. They are three in number.

(1) The lagoon of Osmyn Aga is not mentioned. Considering that it runs along the whole of the eastern side of Pylos, this is a strange omission.

(2) The entrance to the harbour between the southern side of Sphacteria and the mainland is far too broad, and altogether out of proportion to the other and northern entrance, which is now known as the Sikia Channel.

Thucydides tells us that the northern entrance to the harbour allowed space for two ships to pass in abreast, and the southern for eight or nine, and he adds that the Spartans intended to block up both these entrances by mooring ships across them.<sup>30</sup> While, however, the Sikia Channel is nowhere more than 600, and at its narrowest point less than 500, feet across, the

<sup>27</sup> Leake, *Travels in Morca*, vol. i. p. 409, published 1830. It must be remembered that Leake's investigations, excellent as they were, were confined to a single day, April 27, 1805, for both Pylos and Sphacteria. It is difficult to discover how far the same remark in Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, vol. ii. p. 179, published 1852, is the result of independent work, or is merely copied from Leake. The French *Expédition de Morée*, vol. i. p. 4, published 1831, notices no buildings on the north peak of Sphacteria, and, what is more important, Mr. W. G. Clark, in his not sufficiently noticed book on the Peloponnesus, published in 1858, is also silent on the point.

<sup>28</sup> I wish to lay stress on the fact that not only is Pylos out of the ordinary track of scholars in the Peloponnesus, but that both in Sphacteria and Pylos itself the walls I am discussing might easily escape the notice of any one who was not making a prolonged and thorough survey of the place. Moreover, there are few spots in Greece where less systematic work has been done.

<sup>29</sup> Thuc. iv. 31, 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.* iv. 8, 6 and 7.

southern entrance has a breadth of more than 4,000 feet. Not only is the proportion rather eight to one than four to one, but it would have been manifestly impossible for the Spartans to have blocked up a channel over 4,000 feet broad with the ships at their disposal.

(3) Sphacteria is nearly nine stades longer than Thucydides says it is. He tells us that the island is about fifteen stades long, and it is in fact nearly twenty-four.

I will take these difficulties in the order in which I have stated them. But before we consider the question of the lagoon it will be well for us to discuss fully the topography of Pylos.

The problem we have here to consider is the line of fortification which Demosthenes defended, and the Spartans attacked. Without a grasp of it we cannot estimate the part which, on this theory or on that, the lagoon must have played in the progress of events.

Almost the whole of the eastern side of Pylos is sheer precipice, rising at points to a height of about 450 feet above the lagoon.<sup>31</sup> Here there was no need for a wall. This line of cliff lasts till within a few hundred yards of the bay of Boidia Koilia on the north, and within perhaps about one hundred<sup>32</sup> of the Sikia Channel on the south. This break in the south must certainly have been defended by a wall, running in the same direction as the Venetian wall which now stands there. And it would be continued along the south side, to the point where the Sikia Channel opens on to the sea, by a wall running not many yards away from the water's edge. At the south-west corner, however, the level ground ceases to run down to near the water, and for several hundred yards a mass of low detached rugged rocks lie between. Over these rocks no wall could possibly be built, and it is interesting to note that on the land side of them there are still some of the foundations of an undoubtedly Hellenic wall of the style used by Epaminondas at Messene, dating from the Messenian occupation of Pylos. There is indeed at one or two points some rougher work which cannot be Messenian, and bears no resemblance to the Venetian masonry which lies in such quantities near at hand. If we agree that the similar wall on the north-west, which we shall examine later, dates from the time of Demosthenes himself, we shall not hesitate to class this fragment along with it. In any case Demosthenes' line of defence must have run here, and it was outside this part of the wall, among the loose rocks which stretch for a distance varying between 50 and 100 yards into the sea, that he drew up his men by the *ῥαχία*, and repelled Brasidas' attack.<sup>33</sup> It was not every point where a landing could have been attempted, and the Spartans could not make use of their numbers.<sup>34</sup> Even the best was bad enough, and we do not wonder that a handful of determined men could hold their ground.<sup>35</sup> It is only when we get some 500 or 600 yards from the Sikia Channel that the

<sup>31</sup> Following the Admiralty Chart of 1865 as against Leake and Curtius, who say 800 feet.

<sup>32</sup> Part of this 100 yards would only require a slight wall; the half of it immediately

abutting on the Sikia Channel, a strong one.

<sup>33</sup> Thuc. iv. 10, 4 and 11, 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Ib.* iv. 11, 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Ib.* iv. 12, 2.

low rocks yield to steep inaccessible cliffs, and a wall is again unnecessary. From this point the ground is unchanged for nearly half a mile, till the coast bends in to the north-east.

Our difficulties however now begin, and the question that faces us is this. Did Demosthenes occupy the whole of Pylos? For we now begin to see that, if he did, the extent of his frontier open to attack must have required either a wall too long for him to have made in the time, or a garrison larger than that which he had at his disposal. It is true that the cliffs as they slope north-east are still steep. But they are no longer very high, and at points are climbable. I doubt if a general who had such a small force available for sentry duty would have ventured to leave even these cliffs unguarded by a wall. When, however, we reach the south-west end of the spur of land which juts into the bay of Boidia Koilia the cliffs cease even to be steep, and a wall would undoubtedly be necessary. Nor could it be dispensed with for the 200 or 300 yards which separate the shore of Boidia Koilia from the point where the eastern cliffs over the lagoon cease to be precipitous. On the sand-ridge beneath them the Spartan army would be stationed in its overwhelming numbers, and could attack in force for at least half of this 200 to 300 yards. The rest of it could be climbed and surprised with little difficulty, unless there was a wall to guard it.<sup>36</sup>

We naturally ask ourselves whether Demosthenes had any alternative to making his line of defence here, and including in it the whole of Pylos. Considering the hurry in which he had to complete his arrangements, he would certainly have chosen an alternative if by it he could have lessened the amount of work to be done.<sup>37</sup> There was one, obvious and certain. The real, natural frontier of Pylos is not the shore of Boidia Koilia to the north, and the sand-ridge to the east, but a line taken across it, from the point where the cliffs end on the east, to where they become lower on the north-western side. For in almost a direct line between these two points, running west-north-west, is a steep and all but continuous line of cliffs. It is below their eastern end that there lies the great cave of Nestor, and the path up them is so steep that we only managed to get down at one place, and that with great difficulty. A little more than 100 yards however from the western end these land cliffs fall away, and there is a level space by which an enemy could pass through with tolerable ease to the south. It was here, then, that out of the way of the

<sup>36</sup> It is important to remember the words in which Thucydides describes the guarding of the mainland side: τοὺς μὲν οὖν...ἐπὶ τὰ τετειχισμένα μάλιστα καὶ ἔχυρά τοῦ χαρίου πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἔταξε (iv. 9, 2).

On my theory the wall marked L on the plan would of course be made higher and stronger than any of the others. And it would also be true that this was the *strongest* side of the place as well as the best fortified. If the wall however ran down to Boidia Koilia the land side could not possibly be called the strongest side of the place, unless the lagoon

was land, and the line of eastern cliffs was also therefore πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον.

<sup>37</sup> Thuc. iv. 5, 2. They finished the work ἐν ἡμέραις ἑξ, and this was possible because their aim had been to minimize trouble: παντὶ τρόπῳ ἡπείγοντο φθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα ἐξεργασάμενοι πρὶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ πλέον τοῦ χαρίου αὐτὸ καρπερον ὑπῆρχε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχεος (Ib. 4, 3).

A glance at Plate VIII. Fig. 2 will show the strength of my argument as to the natural frontiers of Pylos.



ordinary visitor to Pylos,<sup>38</sup> and unnoticed, I expect, since the French expedition of 1830 marked it with a dotted line,<sup>39</sup> there lie the extensive remains of a hurriedly built wall of unhewn and unmortared stones. This is the wall which I wish to connect with the name of Demosthenes, and I think the argument is fairly strong if we combine the following propositions:—

(1) Demosthenes must have chosen the line of cliffs from south-east to west-north-west. They would save him the building of several hundred yards of wall. Not only would he thus have to defend the base, and not the two sides of the triangle, but at least half of this base would require no wall at all, and a quarter more only a slight one.

(2) If he adopted this line of defence he must have built a wall at this point. Without it the enemy could easily pass to his rear, and there is nowhere another place where his line could be continued to the sea.

(3) The wall of which the remains exist at this identical point is exactly what we should expect from the description which Thucydides gives us.<sup>40</sup>

We must however consider all possible objections. There were certainly three other occupations of Pylos, besides that of Demosthenes. First, what we may, for want of a better name, call the Cyclopean. Secondly, that of Epaminondas and the Messenians in the fourth century. And, thirdly, the Venetian occupation in the middle ages. To each of these can be assigned a portion of the stonework which still exists on this part of Pylos. There are traces of massive Cyclopean walls, and what appears to me to be a gateway of the same age as Tiryns and Mycenae, not far from the spit of

<sup>38</sup> I caught sight of the wall because I approached Boidia Koilia from the sea as well as from the land, sailing round the outside of Pylos. I did this because I wished to explore all the coast of Pylos. But the wall would not be seen by any one who approached by land. Most travellers land at the Sikia Channel, examine the Venetian castle, and either descend from it to Boidia Koilia to the immediate west of Nestor's cave, or, more usually, listen to the local guides when they tell them the climb is impossible, and go round to Boidia Koilia by the strip of sand which runs along the bottom of the east cliffs, by the side of the lagoon.

<sup>39</sup> This must be the wall meant by their dotted lines marked Plate VI. figures 1 and 2. In the text (vol. i. p. 4) it is called a very large 'muraille moderne.' But this is no argument against my theory.

Plate VIII. in the French Atlas shows that their only idea of an ancient wall, at any rate for Pylos, was a regular Hellenic wall, and the description given of this 'muraille moderne' is all in my favour. For it is 'composée de quartiers de Ro.; posés

les uns sur les autres, comme dans les constructions Cyclopéennes; cette muraille se prolonge jusqu'à la mer, et paraît avoir été construite pour défendre le passage.' The wall is about seven to nine feet thick. A few of the stones are Cyclopean in size. But most of them are such as two or three men could lift. And the interstices are filled up with small stones and rubble. The wall itself is perhaps seven feet high. But it takes advantage of the nature of the ground, and would present a front, at many points, of twelve or fifteen feet to an attacking force.

<sup>40</sup> Thuc. iv. 4, 2, λογάρην φέροντες λίθους ξυνετίθεσαν ὡς ἑκάστων τι συμβαίνει.

It is interesting to remark that Arnold's note on this passage, his idea of the sort of wall this description would imply, might have been written for the actual wall that now exists there. He says that the construction *would resemble Cyclopean architecture, only on a smaller scale*. And that the interstices of the large stones would be filled with smaller ones. This is just the sort of point where Arnold's true historical insight makes him a valuable authority to be able to quote in one's favour.

sand itself.<sup>41</sup> Now the way these walls lie shows that in this period the two sides of the triangle were the line of defence, and not the base. There is also a line of wall following almost the same course,<sup>42</sup> but apparently a little farther from the water, which recalls without doubt the careful, well-hewn, square-cut wall which Epaminondas built for Messene.<sup>43</sup> Finally, there is the great Venetian castle, which still remains, almost in its entirety, on the main peak of the promontory.

Now I do not mean to say that because both the men of the Cyclopean age, and the later Messenians, in order to allow space for a complete city life, made the sides of the triangle and not the base their line of defence, they therefore had no castle inside of them. Schliemann may be right in finding traces of Cyclopean walls underneath those of the Venetians. I confess I did not see them myself. I certainly did see there unmistakable traces of fourth century walls, worked over by those of the middle ages. But even if the 'Cyclopes' and Messenians both built where the Venetian castle now stands, they would not have found the wall on the western side of the base of much value. It is not a continuation of the line of the Venetian castle, and you could fairly easily pass to the south between the two. What it is a continuation of, is a line of defence on the very edge of the cliffs which mark the base of the triangle, and curiously enough there is a fragment of wall of the same character, actually on the very edge, considerably farther north than the corresponding point in the Venetian castle. This piece of work, filling in as it does a weak point in the cliff,<sup>44</sup> I believe also to have formed part of the Athenian defences.

So far as the character of the stones goes, the wall which we call Athenian cannot possibly be referred to the time of Epaminondas. If there is one style of wall building which is unique and unmistakable, it is that. Neither can we with any reason assign it to Venetian times. The absence, so far as I could observe, of any signs of mortar and tiling, and the unhewn character of the stones, are definite enough differences of style. There is however some stone work near it, which on this ground might claim to be Cyclopean. About half way between the sea and the cliffs which form the base, one sees what at first sight, and at a distance, one has not noticed,<sup>45</sup> that there is a second line of defence some thirty feet behind the main wall. But this does not seem to be a second wall. It stretches neither to the rock on the south-east, nor to the sea on the north-west.<sup>46</sup> It seems rather to

<sup>41</sup> These remains would I think repay careful investigation. A clearing away of the sand might produce startling results.

<sup>42</sup> *E.g.* one piece of sixteen blocks of carefully built polygonal 'Messenian' wall. Of the bottom row six stones can be seen, and then it loses itself in the ground. Of the second row ten perfectly preserved stones remain.

<sup>43</sup> It is what one would naturally expect that these two occupations should include the

whole of the promontory. They had no need to hurry through their work of fortification. And their object was to give space for a whole city, and all the buildings that a city necessarily implied.

<sup>44</sup> It is in the form of an inverted pyramid.

<sup>45</sup> It is not that it cannot be seen from a distance, but that it looks like a part of the front wall.

<sup>46</sup> It is bounded on the north-west or sea side by a huge natural rock.

have been a large tower acting as a support to the wall in front of it. Now this tower is composed of stones of very much larger size than those in the wall—stones which, so far as their size goes, are not unworthy of Mycenae or Tiryns. It is possible that this tower existed in Cyclopean days, and that the Athenians utilized it as a support for their wall. But it is only in their size, and not in their regular order and grandeur, that the stones resemble Mycenaean work, and it is difficult to see why the Athenians did not in this case build their wall in a line with the tower, and to this extent economize material. It is possible at any rate that the tower was built by the Athenians during the period of the Peloponnesian war, and that its construction followed the model of the wall in front of it, except in so far that it was much stronger, and less hurriedly made. In any case the main wall is of much too small stones to be of Cyclopean date, and therefore I think can naturally be assigned the position which I have claimed for it.<sup>47</sup>

What then of the lagoon? Could it have existed in its present form in the days of Thucydides?

We must remember that the argument *ex silentio* has again and again been proved invalid. The omission of any mention of the lagoon in the narrative is by itself no proof of its non-existence. What we have to consider is whether its existence is inconsistent with the narrative.

If we are content to demand from Thucydides nothing more than a good general description of the siege, and to allow that he may have been inexact in details, we need not assume that the lagoon has changed its character. Pylos could still be called a promontory. The eastern cliffs are equally impregnable, whatever lies beneath them. There is no reason in the nature of things why there should not have been two approaches on the land side as well as one. The Spartan army might attack along the southern sand-bar, as well as along the shore of Boidia Koilia, and their attack be equally fruitless.

If however we find that in the topography of both Pylos and Sphacteria the accuracy of Thucydides is confirmed in the smallest details by an examination of the ground, we shall hesitate to reject any of his direct statements, except in the last possible resort.

We have, then, to face a serious objection. The Bay of Navarino, even in calm weather, is treacherous and exposed, and it is difficult to see what protection a large fleet would find in it during a storm.<sup>48</sup> One thing we can be sure of, and that is that such a fleet would never anchor close to the Sikia Channel, exposed to the full force of the currents, and the wind from the open sea. It would choose either the extreme north-east, or the extreme south-east corner of the bay. Even if the Athenians beached their ships, it is highly improbable that they would choose the narrow strip of sand

<sup>47</sup> The reservations I made above as to the certainty of my identification of the ruins on Sphacteria apply with even greater force to those on Pylos, because of the mediaeval settlement. The tower that I have just

discussed might well be classed as mediaeval, if Dr. Dorpfeld's criticisms on Mr. Loring's walls at Sellasia are correct.

<sup>48</sup> Thuc. iv. 3, 1, *χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος κατήγεκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Πύλον*.

between Pylos and the western of the two small outlets which connect the lagoon with the bay. Besides all the other inherent improbabilities, there would not have been room there for forty ships.<sup>49</sup> Unless, however, they were somehow or other cooped up in this narrow strip of land, we are on the horns of a dilemma. If the two fish-slucies were any broader than they are now, and could not be forded or roughly bridged without effort, the haphazard character of the occupation of Pylos has to be abandoned. The Athenians would not be within reach of Pylos at all, and would never, as Thucydides affirms, have fortified the place because they were tired of loitering about with nothing to do.<sup>50</sup> They would have had to walk several miles round the east and north sides of the lagoon, in order to get to it.

If however connection was direct along this southern sand-bank, another difficulty presents itself. What can be meant by the point on the side of the harbour which the Spartans intended to attack, after their failure to effect a landing on the west? Thucydides expressly says that at this point the Athenian wall was high, but that landing was feasible, and siege engines could be brought to bear.<sup>51</sup> The ground which this naturally suggests is the small space on the eastern side between the Sikia Channel and the high cliffs, the point from which the southern sand-ridge now stretches across the lagoon.<sup>52</sup> If the ridge had not yet been formed, and the lagoon was part of the harbour, there must still have been an easy slope outside the Athenian wall where a landing could be effected, and engines used. A glance at the character of the ground shows that this slope is an integral part of Pylos, and is not formed of alluvial deposit.

Now, if there was direct connection between Pylos and the mainland along the southern sand-bank, this cannot be the place about which Thucydides is talking. It was accessible from first to last to the Spartan army, the engines, when procured, would be used by that army and not by the fleet, and the remark as to landing being feasible is pointless and out of place.<sup>53</sup> We are thus forced to look for our identification elsewhere, and the

<sup>49</sup> Thuc. iv. 2, 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Ib.* iv. 4, 1.

<sup>51</sup> *Ib.* iv. 13, 1. ἐλπίζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὐσης εἶναι μηχαναῖς.

<sup>52</sup> On my theory of the fortifications of Pylos, this must have been the place where Demosthenes drew up his ships ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος (Ib. iv. 9, 1). It was an excellent place for it, though of course quite unfit for the beaching of the whole Athenian fleet. The only other possible place would be on the sand-ridge by Boidia Koilia, where they could be beached, either from the sea, or, if the lagoon was open to the south, from the harbour. But this of course cannot be the place, if the north line of defence ran, as I have described it, along the line of cliff, and not near the sand-ridge and the shore of Boidia Koilia. The steep shore of the Sikia Channel, and the loose rocks towards the south-west

where Brasidas failed to effect his landing, are of course in any case out of the question for the beaching of ships.

<sup>53</sup> If we accept the view that the lagoon was part of the harbour, the footpath which now runs below the east cliffs, and by which one can walk from the Sikia Channel to Boidia Koilia need not cause us any difficulty. There is no reason to suppose that it was continuous, at a time when the lagoon was part of the harbour, and its shores subject to the washing of the sea, and not yet blocked by the alluvial deposit of streams possessed of no outlet. Even if it was continuous, it would have been impossible to convey μηχαναῖ along it from Boidia Koilia to the extreme south-east slope. An attack there would thus still be an attack of the fleet, and not of the army, and remarks about ἀπόβας are in point.

west being out of the question, because not on the side of the harbour, and the ground around Boidia Koilia equally so, because accessible from the land, we have to fall back upon the not very appropriate shore of the Sikia Channel. I do not go so far as to say that it is impossible that this is the ground which Thucydides had in view. But it would be difficult to land there, and the Athenian wall was probably built so near the water's edge that there can scarcely have been room for siege engines to be brought into play, even if their disembarkation were once effected. It is then improbable, though not impossible, that the lagoon existed in its present form in the time of Thucydides. We must at least consider whether any other theory as to its condition is open to less serious difficulties.

It has been suggested that the lagoon may at that time have been part of the mainland. It will be noticed that the argument as to the need of a place for ἀπόβασις on the side of the harbour can be directly used against such a theory, though it is only one of the horns of a dilemma if we maintain that the lagoon existed in its present form. But it has been disproved on more cogent grounds than these. Dr. Philippson, the geologist of the Peloponnesus, has told us<sup>54</sup> that the change has been a change of sea to land, and not of land to sea. First the sand-bank at Boidia Koilia was formed by the alluvial deposit of all the rivers which open on to the bay, swept as it was by the current towards the north. Then much later came the southern bank, which finally completed the lagoon. It was formed at the point where the northern streams, now unable to find an outlet at Boidia Koilia, met the Xerias and the Jalova, as the current of the bay still drifted them on from the south.

I learn too, that Mr. Grundy has brought forward abundant evidence to prove that the land theory of the lagoon is untenable. Without further argument we may dismiss it from consideration.

How then are we to deal with the two views that are now left to us, that one, or that both of the sand-banks are late creations?

The latter suggestion we must at once reject. It is obvious that, if we are right in our identifications of Pylos and Sphacteria, the sand-bank at Boidia Koilia must have existed in the time of Thucydides. Without it Pylos would have been an island, not a promontory. Nor would this merely mean that Thucydides was guilty of the wrong use of a word. The Spartans have no place where they can make their land attack,<sup>55</sup> and the whole story falls to pieces. The case is quite different with the southern sand-bank. If we count it as altogether absent, the lagoon becomes a part of the harbour, and causes no difficulty in the narrative, while, in the north-west corner, by Boidia Koilia, it allows of a sheltered anchorage for the Athenian fleet when it first puts in at Pylos. If it existed in a slightly different position, and did not stretch across the whole breadth of the present lagoon, it even offers a possible new solution of the second of

<sup>54</sup> *Topographische und Hypsometrise Karte des Peloponnes*, Dr. Alfred Philippson, Berlin 1891, vol. II. p. 354.

<sup>55</sup> Thuc. iv. 11, 2.

our three difficulties. Grant that the southern sand-bank ran in Thucydides' time not to the north, but to the south of the Sikia Channel, that its western end was near the Turtori rocks, or even where now lies the shallow ground called the Sphagia shoal, and the main difficulties about the southern entrance to the harbour fade away. The water enclosed between Boidia Koilia and this southern bank becomes the harbour itself, the northern entrance is still through the Sikia Channel, but the southern entrance passes between the east coast of Sphacteria and the Turtori rocks, or the Sphagia shoal. The right proportions of distance can be secured, and both entrances could, so far as breadth goes, have been blocked up.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, the land-locked harbour thus formed far better represents the Greek idea of a λιμὴν than the huge and stormy bay which we have otherwise to suppose to be the one mentioned in the text.<sup>57</sup>

The difficulty in accepting this view is, however, sufficiently obvious. We have no authority whatever for assuming that the sand-bank could have entirely changed its position. The soundings of the Admiralty Chart of 1865 show, that though there is a considerable extent of very shallow water all along the west shore of the present harbour and the south side of the sand-belt, there are hundreds of yards of a depth of at least nine to ten fathoms which must be assumed to have then been land, for any such hypothesis to hold. There is no natural explanation as to how such a huge belt of sand could be bodily removed several hundred yards away.

Nor have we probability more on our side if we assume any other change in the sand-bank. It is possible for instance, but not probable,<sup>58</sup> that the Sikia Channel curved to the north as soon as it had passed between Pylos and Sphacteria, and entered the present lagoon at the first of the two narrow fish-sluiques, which at the present time are its only connection with the harbour. That a sand-ridge ran across the stretch of shallow water, of not greater depth at any point than a quarter of a fathom,<sup>59</sup> where the

<sup>56</sup> Whether this could have been done with the ships at their command placed ἀντιπρόποις, in the ordinary, and probably, though not certainly, correct interpretation of that word, I am not concerned to argue. The breadth would be small enough to give a *prima facie* plausibility to a theory that a policy of blocking had been intended. The point as to the impregnable character of the blocking would be a natural afterthought of the Spartans. There is nothing in the phrase νῆες ἀντιπρόποι to put out of the question the translation 'ships with their prows facing each other.' I have however examined all the passages I can find in which the word occurs in Greek, and have to admit that usage seems to give little support to this view. For other difficult places in which the word occurs in Thuc. cf. vii. 36. 3 (*ibid.*), vii. 40, 4. His use of the word πλάγαις in vii. 59, 2 is in favour of the ordinary view. Herodotus, in vii. 36, when describing Xerxes' bridge over

the Hellespont, is more precise in his language, and uses neither word.

<sup>57</sup> Arnold has some good remarks on this in the Memoir at the end of his second volume.

<sup>58</sup> I am doubtful to what age to assign the remains of a mole, seen by me and mentioned by most of those who have written on the subject, which run out from Pylos immediately inside the Sikia Channel in a south-east direction. At the period when it was made, the lagoon could not have been land, nor could the Sikia Channel have curved then to the north. But its existence is consistent with any theory that argues that the lagoon was part of the harbour, or any that places the southern bank of the lagoon south of the Sikia Channel.

<sup>59</sup> All the following measurements in fathoms and cables are taken direct from the Admiralty Chart of 1865. It may be as well to add that 10 sea cables = 1 sea mile = 6,080 feet.

Sikia Channel at the present day opens on to the harbour. That the second entrance, 'looking towards the other part of the mainland,' lay between the eastern edge of this hypothetical continuation of Sphacteria, and a strip of sand stretching out westward from the mainland. That it lay in fact either by the second of the fish-sluiques, or yet further east, where the soundings still mark four fathoms to the very edge of the sand.

I confess, however, that on the evidence before us I cannot see any valid ground for creating a second entrance at any point in the immediate south of the lagoon. Any view which considers that the lagoon, or an extension of the lagoon, was the ancient harbour, will have to face the fact that Thucydides describes one of the places where Demosthenes landed his eight hundred hoplites, to attack the first Spartan outpost, as 'on the side of the harbour.'<sup>60</sup> But this place was without doubt on the extreme south of Sphacteria, and could not intelligibly be described as 'on the side of' the lagoon, or any extension of the lagoon. A point of Sphacteria which might be described as 'on the side of the lagoon' is the old fort at the extreme north-eastern peak, and this would be as good a description as that which Thucydides actually gives of it, as 'looking towards Pylos.'<sup>61</sup> So that we should have to imagine, that in distinguishing between two remote points, Thucydides uses, as mutually exclusive terms, phrases which would apply equally well to one of the points, and equally badly to the other. It is as if, in locating France and Spain, one said that France looked towards Germany, but that Spain was on the side of Switzerland. The only conclusion, on such an hypothesis, would be that Thucydides used the word 'harbour' in two senses, that here he meant the sheet of water which is now the Bay of Navarino, but that, when he was describing the entrance, he referred to an inner basin.

We have, I think, to fall back on the old traditional view, with all its difficulties, and to suppose that Thucydides really did mean that the second Athenian squadron entered by the huge opening which now separates the south of Sphacteria from the fort of Neokastro. How then are we to account for our difficulties? It has been suggested by Curtius<sup>62</sup> and Grote,<sup>63</sup> that there has been some change of ground here, and that the entrance was originally narrower. Unfortunately, there is scarcely any even moderately shallow ground between the two points. Granting a change of ground of four fathoms on the Neokastro side, and five and a half fathoms on that of Sphacteria, we save less than one sea cable, and then are at once plunged into depths of from eighteen to twenty fathoms on the one side, and twelve to twenty on the other. It is doubtful how far these twelve fathoms extend. Even if it is to the extreme point possible according to the Chart, with a plunge of thirty fathoms immediately beyond it, we save only a little more than another sea cable, and reduce the distance from nearly six and a half sea cables to about four and a quarter. We must remember, too, that this

<sup>60</sup> Thuc. iv. 31. 1. πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος

<sup>61</sup> *Ib.* iv. 31, 2, πρὸς τὴν Πύλον.

<sup>62</sup> *Poliorumnesos* II. p. 180.

<sup>63</sup> *History of Greece*, part II. chap. lii. note.

an unwarrantably large allowance of change of ground, considering that there is only one single point in the whole of the Sikia Channel six fathoms deep; that you can get three separate lines across it, a quarter, one and a quarter, and two and a quarter fathoms deep; and that in the Bay of Boidia Koilia there is also only one point as deep as six fathoms, and that two fathoms' allowance of earth would fill up the greater part of it. All the result we can get from any possible change of ground is to reduce the four thousand feet to about two thousand seven hundred. Even then the distance is too long as compared with the Sikia Channel. Nor do I believe for a moment that we have any right to reclaim more than a half at most of these one thousand three hundred feet.

Our only hope of throwing light on the subject is to ask ourselves on what kind of evidence Thucydides could have based his measurements of these sea distances. We must remember that an ancient historian had no scientific instruments at his command, and that he could only judge his longer measurements by the eye, or by the amount of time it took himself or some one else to ride, or walk, or sail them. Now it is a curious fact that from several points in the harbour<sup>64</sup> the southern entrance looks smaller than it really is. Dr. Arnold indeed remarks, that in some account given of the Battle of Navarino,<sup>65</sup> it is described as only six hundred yards broad, whereas in fact it is more than double that breadth. The eye may have misled Thucydides.

But we can go further than this. We can examine the test which Thucydides himself shows us was his main guide in making this measurement. He himself tells us that the northern channel allowed room for two ships to sail in at a time, and the southern for eight or nine.<sup>66</sup> Now these words show us that Thucydides did not indeed take a boat, and find out how long it took him to pass from shore to shore, but that he did judge by some definite movement of ships in the two channels. What was this movement likely to be? And who was the person from whom Thucydides would most

<sup>64</sup> I think also from some points on Sphacteria. But I unfortunately omitted to take exact notes of this point.

<sup>65</sup> Dr. Arnold says that this was in 'James' *Naval History*, and apparently no one has to this day verified his reference. But not only is there no trace of such a statement in any edition of James, but there is no edition extant to which Dr. Arnold could have referred. The second edition was published in 1826, and naturally contained no account of the battle of Navarino. James died in May 1827, four months before the battle, and no demand was made for a third edition till 1837, when it was edited and continued up to date by Captain Chamier. But the second vol. of Arnold's *Thucydides* was published in 1832. I cannot believe that Arnold invented the statement. But where he got it from I cannot yet discover. It may have

escaped me in the voluminous and unindexed pages of Marshall's *Royal Naval Biography*, though I have searched it under every name I could think of. Captain Burrows, R.N., Chichele Professor, Oxford, has kindly looked through some other naval authorities for me, but can find no trace of the statement. The nearest thing to it is where Sir H. Coddington says, in a letter written from his father's ship: 'The entrance at the south end is narrow enough to render working inconvenient for a large ship.' See *Selections from the Letters of Sir H. Coddington*, p. 18. It must be remembered that this passage does not come to much, as 'working' means, technically, tacking against a foul wind. This would require a good deal of space.

<sup>66</sup> Thuc. iv. 8. 6, τῇ μὲν δυοῖν νεοῖν διάπλουν τῇ δὲ . . . ὀκτῶ ἢ ἐννέα.



naturally get his information? One can hardly put the question without suggesting the answer. It would surely be the Athenian fleet whose movements would in Thucydides' mind be most closely connected with the width of those two channels. And it would be one of the Athenian admirals, or at least one of the trierarchs, from whom he would get his information. How many ships did the Athenian fleet consist of, when it entered those two channels and attacked the Spartans? Thucydides expressly tells us that it was exactly fifty sail strong.<sup>67</sup> Now when he had been told that these fifty ships had entered the harbour, in order to catch the Spartans in a trap,<sup>68</sup> what is the next question which Thucydides would have asked? Surely it would have been this: How did you divide your forces? With how many ships abreast did you enter each channel? What too must have been the answer of the Athenian commander? What must have been the strategy of any capable admiral who had to deal with a huge entrance like that between Neokastro and Sphacteria, and a narrow entrance like the Sikia Channel? How could he have covered both entrances equally thoroughly, and allowed no chance for the enemy to escape?<sup>69</sup> Surely he would have detached ten ships for the Sikia Channel, and sent them in two abreast, in column of five. He would have taken forty ships for the southern channel, and drawn them up in five loosely extended lines, of which the first three or four consisted of eight or nine ships abreast. This is how a good sailor must have acted to cover the ground, and this was the evidence which Thucydides, with nothing but his rough eye measurements to correct him, naturally, yet most unfortunately, took for his measurement of the channels.

Thucydides, however, does not merely make a mistake as to the breadth of the southern entrance. He ascribes to the Spartans an intention which on our view of the topography they could not possibly have fulfilled. No amount of ships which the Spartans had at their command could have blocked up the southern entrance to the bay.

We must remember that Thucydides recognizes that in fact no attempt was ever made to carry out this idea.<sup>70</sup> But the further question arises whether the impossibility of such a policy was not too self-evident for the idea of it ever to have arisen in a sane mind.<sup>71</sup> It is difficult to believe that the Spartan authorities could have seriously considered it. It is inconceivable that it seemed so practicable to them that it was an essential, though, in fact, a neglected supplement to the landing of troops in Sphacteria. But

<sup>67</sup> Thuc. iv. 13, 2, νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραγίγνυνται πεντήκοντα.

<sup>68</sup> *Ih.* iv. 14, 1, καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν ἑσπλουν ὤρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

<sup>69</sup> There was a real probability that at the last moment the Peloponnesian fleet might try to escape by one of the entrances. They had pursued this policy ever since their defeats by Phormio, *c. g.* Thuc. iii. 33 and iv. 8. It was the remembrance of these instances of running away, the latter of which had only occurred a few days previously, that decided

the Athenian admirals to enter by both channels. Otherwise they would never have risked dividing their forces in face of superior numbers (*ih.* iv. 8, 2 ἐξήκοντα).

<sup>70</sup> *Ih.* iv. 13, 4, οὐτε δὲ διενόηθησαν φράσαι τοὺς ἑσπλους ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες.

<sup>71</sup> Mr. W. G. Clark (*Περὶ Πελοποννησιακού πολέμου*, p. 221) has already noticed that, quite apart from the question of the southern entrance, the Sikia Channel would have been almost impossible to blockade, because of the cross fire from the Athenian Wall on Pylos.

it is highly probable that some of the prisoners of Sphacteria, from whom Thucydides doubtless heard the Spartan side of the story, when asked to explain their apparently senseless action in garrisoning that island, brought this forward as an excuse. We need not imagine bad faith, or deliberate invention. The breadth of the southern entrance was no longer before their eyes, and events seemed to prove that the holding of Sphacteria could only have been justified by a simultaneous blocking up of the harbour mouths. The mutual interdependence of these two policies is indeed only apparent. We may conjecture that Brasidas, who was of course, till he was disabled,<sup>72</sup> the guiding spirit on the Spartan side, did not consider the possibility of an Athenian siege of Sphacteria. His self-confidence would indeed make him believe that he could reduce Pylos before the Athenian fleet arrived.<sup>73</sup> But even apart from this, he would have scouted the idea of that fleet instituting a blockade off a stormy coast, where it had no base of operations on island or mainland, no chance of procuring provisions, and a powerful fleet facing it, ready to give battle the moment an opportunity offered. Brasidas would have beached his ships, and guarded them with his land force till the enemy's fleet had become disorganized. There is little doubt that if he had done so he would have soon had his chance. It was the armistice that allowed the Athenian fleet to procure provisions, and it was their immunity from an attack by sea that gave their blockade any hope of success.<sup>74</sup> Fortunately for them Brasidas was placed *hors de combat*, and, as was always the case in the first half of the Peloponnesian War, his absence meant the demoralization of Spartan strategy. The first day that the Athenian fleet arrived his policy was maintained, and the Spartans did not offer battle. The next day that policy was reversed, half-heartedly, it must be noticed, and partially reversed.<sup>75</sup> And the Athenians had their great chance.

If the fleet, then, had not been lost, the troops on Sphacteria would have been invaluable. After their surrender the Spartans, not realizing this point,

<sup>72</sup> Thuc. iv. 12, 1.

<sup>73</sup> We may well believe he would have done so if he had not fallen. It must be remembered that this happened on the first day, and probably early in that. See Thuc. iv. 12 *πιστευει* and *ιβ.* 13, 1, *ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας μέρος τι προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐπέπαινον*.

<sup>74</sup> For their difficulties see Thuc. iv. 26, 2 and 3, and *ιβ.* 27, 1.

The Spartans could perhaps have raised the blockade even after the battle in the harbour if they had not been strategically demoralized, and in an utter panic as to the safety of the garrison of Sphacteria. Their ships on the spot were still numerous (a considerable number of the sixty which were given up at the armistice, Thuc. iv. 16, 1 and 3), and quite safe when properly beached and guarded by the land forces (*ιβ.* iv. 14, 1).

<sup>75</sup> This view is drawn from the narrative of Thuc. iv. 13, 3 to 14, 1. Thucydides says directly that the first day that the Athenian fleet arrived the Spartans did not offer battle but remained in the harbour. That this meant beaching is *a priori* probable, and is directly deducible from the statement that the second day *ἡσυχάζοντες ἐν τῇ γῇ τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν* etc. For the indecision cf. *τὰς μὲν πλείους καὶ μετεώρους ἤδη τῶν νεῶν* etc. with *αἱ δὲ καὶ πληροῦμαι ἔτι πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι ἐκόπτοντο*. This indecision can only be accounted for by the fact that there was a sudden, and only a half accepted change of policy. This policy was perhaps not one of greater daring, but of greater caution. It may have arisen from distrust of the help that could be given by the land force, and may have aimed at escape. The Athenians at any rate, as we have seen, thought it worth while to guard against this contingency.

thought of a more obvious, but very misleading, excuse for their blunder. Thucydides unfortunately connected it with the information he had elsewhere acquired as to the division of the forces with which the Athenian fleet entered the harbour.

For our other great difficulty we have no such explanation to offer. Nothing can get over the fact that Sphacteria is far longer than Thucydides tells us it is. There is no chance that any part of the island was detached from the rest in his day. The ground even at the lowest point is far too hard and solid for that.<sup>76</sup> We must candidly confess that either Thucydides or his text is wrong by more than a mile. I should not be disposed to deny the possibility of the former alternative. Thucydides does indeed describe the last battle so exactly that he can hardly have failed to have been on the spot. But a brilliant and accurate description of the important features of the ground is quite compatible with a mistake as to a particular which does not affect any point in the narrative. A modern historian knows only too well how often some one detail has to be mentioned which was overlooked in the personal visit to the battle-field, and is too unimportant to justify a return to it. Where maps were practically non-existent, Thucydides may surely have hesitated to revisit Sphacteria and tramp the whole length of the island on foot, and have contented himself with getting this one detail from some of the Spartan or Athenian troops.

An error in the text of Thucydides is also conceivable. It has been already suggested by Mr. W. G. Clark that κε' (25) may easily have got corrupted into ιε' (15). It may also be noticed, that, if we return to the old Attic notation, ΔΔΓ (25) could as easily have dropped its first Δ, and changed into ΔΓ (15). The island is in fact close on twenty-four stades long, and twenty-five stades would be as accurate a measurement of its up and down hill surface as we have any right to expect. In the case of numerals such corruptions can be paralleled elsewhere.<sup>77</sup> If we altered the one numeral we should at least have to alter nothing else, whereas a textual alteration in the number of ships that could sail abreast through the southern entrance would make the remark about the barring up of the harbour even more obviously unintelligible than it now is. We must at least remember that we have no alternative but one or other of these two theories. It is little use to discuss with Arnold whether μέγεθος can refer to circumference as well as to length, and whether, if so, it is not curious that the circumference of our Pylos is exactly the fifteen stades which Thucydides ascribes to Sphacteria. We have already come on other grounds to the fixed and certain conclusion that our Sphacteria is Thucydides' Sphacteria, and our Pylos his Pylos.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

<sup>76</sup> We can only congratulate ourselves that, if we accept the hypothesis of an extended north-east sand-bank across the Sikia Channel, we do not at any rate make the island much longer than it is already, and that a south-east

extension opposite Neokastro does not make it longer at all.

<sup>77</sup> See Jowett's *Thucydides* vol. ii, notes on i. 57, 6, and i. 103, 1, and authorities there mentioned.

## WHAT PEOPLE PRODUCED THE OBJECTS CALLED MYCENEAN ?

AT Mycenæ in 1876 Dr. Schliemann lifted the corner of the veil which had so long enshrouded the elder age of Hellas. Year by year ever since that veil has been further withdrawn, and now we are privileged to gaze on more than the shadowy outline of the picture of a far back age. The picture is still incomplete, but it is now possible to trace the salient points. Can we in comparing it with pictures of certain peoples who have dwelt in and reigned at Mycenæ, pictures preserved for us elsewhere, identify it as that of any previously known ? The object of this little essay is to make such an attempt.

### I.

The name Mycenaean is now applied to a whole class of monuments—buildings, sepulchres, ornaments, weapons, pottery, engraved stones—which resemble more or less closely those found at Mycenæ. I think I am right when I say that archaeologists are unanimous in considering them the outcome of one and the same civilization, and the product of one and the same race.

These monuments are not confined to the Peloponnesus, nor to the mainland of Hellas. They are found in many widely distant spots. For instance, certain engraved stones, some beau-like in shape, some glandular, have been so frequently found in the Greek islands as to be known as ‘Island gems.’ Such stones have been found in Crete in considerable numbers; and Mr. A. J. Evans’ recent brilliant discoveries in Crete, and his masterly paper on ‘Primitive Pictographs,’ have riveted more closely than ever the attention of scholars not only to such gems, but to the whole area of Mycenaean antiquities. Let us now enumerate the different regions in which Mycenaean remains have been found.

I. PELOPONNESUS.—(a) *Argolis*, (1) *Mycenæ*. The Cyclopean walls and gateway; the shaft graves of the Acropolis with their rich contents of gold ornaments and gold cups, pottery, etc.; the beehive tombs, eight in number, of the lower city, and the sixty-one quadrangular rock-hewn graves, with their contents. (Schliemann, *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, 1878; Tsountas, *Mykenai*, 1892.)

The pottery is of two kinds. All of fine yellowish brown clay: but one class is distinguished by a lustrous dark brown varnish, decorated with marine

plants or animals, the other by their dull brown and red coloured painting, and by their decoration and shape. The decoration consists of narrow brown lines alternating with wide red ones. Horizontal lines and bands of spirals are its regular features.<sup>1</sup> As the pottery is one of the chief features by which the Mycenaean civilization is detected, it is important to note its peculiarities. At Mycenae there have also been found the remains of a prae-historic palace similar to that found at Tiryns and on the Acropolis at Athens.

(2) *Tiryns*. Schliemann brought to light here the now famous palace, with its fragments of wall-paintings (one of them a man with a bull<sup>2</sup>), fragments of pottery, and the fragments of an alabaster frieze inlaid with blue glass.

(3) *Nauplia*. This was the port of Tiryns, and must have been in close relation always to it. Here there is a beehive tomb, the excavation of which has brought to light the usual forms of Mycenaean objects.<sup>3</sup>

(4) *The Heraeum*. Professor Waldstein's excavations have brought to light Mycenaean pottery and a number of Mycenaean gems. To the south-east of the Heraeum a beehive tomb has been excavated, exhibiting Mycenaean remains and also showing by its contents that it was still used for interments in classical times.<sup>4</sup>

(5) *Midea*. Mycenaean pottery has been found here.

(b) *Laconia*. A beehive tomb opened at Vaphio produced the usual kinds of Mycenaean objects, including the gold cups now so famous, the very zenith of Mycenaean art. It contained some forty-one engraved gems.

(c) *Arcadia*, though as yet little searched for Mycenaean remains, has yielded at least one gem from Phigalia.<sup>5</sup>

II. ATTICA.—The remains of the Cyclopean walls and the prae-historic palace and Mycenaean pottery have been found on the Acropolis.<sup>6</sup> Beehive tombs of great importance have been discovered at Menidi, Spata and Thoricus, containing the usual objects of Mycenaean age. That at Menidi is of special interest, as the fragments of pottery found in the *dromos* or approach to it show an unbroken series of Mycenaean, Dipylon, Attic black and red-figured vases. This, as has been pointed out, indicates an unbroken continuity of worship at the tomb.

III. BOEOTIA.—(1) *Orchomeneus*.<sup>7</sup> The great beehive tomb, known as the treasury of Minyas. Schliemann brought to light Mycenaean remains such as the roof slabs decorated with elaborate spirals.<sup>8</sup>

(2) Cyclopean remains are found at Goulas in the lake Copais.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 186-7. (Engl. Trans.)

<sup>2</sup> Schliemann, *Tiryns*, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> Schuchhardt, p. 162-163.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> Milchhofer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Schuchhardt, p. 298.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii. 132.

<sup>9</sup> Schuchhardt, pp. 151, 162.

IV. PHOCIS.—*Delphi*. The French have excavated a tomb of Mycenaean age near Delphi.

V. THESSALY.—At Dimni near Volo the opening of a beehive tomb has revealed a number of Mycenaean objects of the usual type, including a gem of *lapis lazuli*. The discovery of a gem of this material in this region is not without some significance.

VI. ASIA MINOR.—(1) *Troad*. At Hissarlik remains of the Mycenaean kind have been found in abundance. The 'Second City' exhibits the older kind, but the 'Sixth City' has yielded those of the finest period of Mycenaean art.<sup>10</sup>

(2) *Titus* in Acolis.

VII. CYPRUS.—Mycenaean pottery has been found in considerable quantities in Cyprus.

*Curium* has yielded important Mycenaean remains to Mr. Walters.

VIII. RHODES.—Mycenaean remains, including pottery and engraved gems, have been found in the tombs of Ialysus and Cameirus.

IX. THERA.—Mycenaean pottery of the earlier period. The pottery is found with a stratum of pumiceous tufa super-imposed.

X. MELOS, THERASIA, NAXOS, IOS, AMORGOS and PAROS have also yielded Mycenaean objects.

XI. EGYPT.—(1) *Kahun*.

(2) *Tel-el-Amarna*.

Professor Flinders Petrie found Mycenaean pottery at both these places.<sup>11</sup>

XII. CRETE.—There is a prae-historic building at Cnossus, either a palace like those of Mycenae, Tiryns and Athens, or the Labyrinth, or the old Cretan Common Hall; at Goulas the remains of a Mycenaean city; and Mycenaean gems have been found everywhere, especially in the south-eastern part of the island. These gems sometimes bear characters identified with certain characters found on the necks of vases from Mycenae and Attica and closely resembling those on the Hittite gems from Asia Minor.<sup>12</sup>

XIII. ITALY.—(1) *Bologna*. Bronze objects belonging to the late Bronze and early Iron Age identified by Evans as Mycenaean in design.

(2) *Etruria*. Similar objects have been found at Corneto.

<sup>10</sup> Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 199.

<sup>12</sup> A. J. Evans, 'Primitive Pictographs,'

<sup>11</sup> 'Egyptian Bases of Greek History,' *J.H.S.* *J.H.S.* vol. xiv.  
vol. xi.

(3) *Latium*. The ancient town of Signia exhibits remains of polygonal masonry.

(4) *Magna Græcia*. There are many remains of prae-historic towns in the region afterwards occupied by the Iapygians, where Mycenaean pottery has been found, and like discoveries have been made in Sicily.

Archaeologists are agreed in regarding all the objects found in these various and widely distant regions as the outcome of the same civilization and the same people.

Who were the people who had the great gift of developing on the northern side of the Mediterranean a culture which may be regarded as independent of those of Egypt and Mesopotamia? This culture exercised a far-reaching influence into central, northern and western Europe during the Hallstadt period. For if on the one hand the people of the Mycenaean period received in Italy and Greece the amber of the Baltic, so they in turn sent their bronze work into the distant and mysterious regions beyond the sources of the Istros and the dense aisles of the Hercynian forest, regions into which it was said by them of old time Heracles had once journeyed in his quest for the Hind of the Golden Horns.

What people produced the Mycenaean civilization is the most important problem in archaic Greek history. Any attempt to solve it must be conducted with extreme caution and freedom from dogmatism.

It is evident from the wide diffusion of their remains that the race which produced these works was one which must have possessed in its time great political power around the basin of the eastern Mediterranean. Such a race can hardly have perished without leaving some echo of its deeds behind. For there seems in some parts of the area which they once occupied, such as Attica at the tomb of Menidi, to be evidence that there has been no break in the continuity of the local worship and local art of pottery from the Mycenaean age proper down to the Attic red-figured vases.

The Greeks above all other people have left to us copious traditions respecting the early history of their land, its early occupiers, their inter-relations, and their racial divisions. If we find an unbroken continuity in the history of the pottery produced in Attica; and find that the people who once made the gold rings found in the tombs of Mycenæ, which may be dated as at least prior to 1200 B.C., and the rings and gold ornaments found in a Mycenaean grave in Aegina of about the eighth century B.C., used the same standard for weighing gold as that which was employed by the Greeks of classical times (known as the Euboic), there is every reason for believing that the continuity of historical tradition from the earlier period was equally unbroken at least in certain areas, which the Greeks themselves are unanimous in declaring had suffered no change of inhabitants from the very remotest epoch.

In the Homeric poems we have a picture of an age and a civilization closely resembling that revealed to us in the tombs of Mycenæ. We may

assume by anticipation that the men of the early Mycenean period were in the Bronze Age. This I shall prove at length later on, so far as it needs proof.

If we were now to set about an inquiry into the question of what race created the objects found in Great Britain belonging to the Bronze Period, we should probably set about it somewhat thus: Literary tradition tells us that before the people now called English were finally evolved by the amalgamation of the various races which lived in the island, there were dominant here, successively, Celts, Romans, and Saxons. Now at no time were the Saxons the sole occupants of the island, although their speech ultimately became the language of almost all the island. For they subdued and assimilated to themselves the people whom they found already in the island, whom we usually describe as Romano-Britons; who again consisted but to a small extent of Romans, even applying that term to the heterogeneous mass of colonists and soldiery from all parts of the Roman Empire sent here, the chief element being the old Celtic population conquered and assimilated to the Roman culture.

Of this Celtic population we get some scanty accounts from the ancient writers, such as Caesar, Diodorus, Strabo, Tacitus. This literary evidence has not even escaped the suspicions of the sceptic. For instance, the *Annals* of Tacitus have been regarded by some as the forgery of Poggio, the finder of the manuscript at Fulda. This charge has however been swept away, just as a literature on the subject, as copious as that on the Bacon-Shakespeare craze, was springing into existence, by the discovery of indubitable evidence that there was a MS. of the *Annals* at Fulda centuries before Poggio's time.

But even those who do not doubt the authenticity of the *Annals* raise grave suspicions as regards the veracity of Tacitus in certain matters, just as Caesar's truthfulness as regards his invasions of Britain has been doubted by others.

Yet after after all this scepticism no one questions the general truth of the statements of these historians—that the Romans came into England and found it already occupied by not only different tribes, but by different races.

For the coming of the Saxons we have certain traditional evidence, certain statements about Hengist and Horsa, which are frequently regarded by clever men as fabulous, certain documents written by Nennius and Gildas, by Bede, an Anglo-Saxon Chronicle written by the monks at Peterborough, and a poem called the *Lay of Beowulf* which gives us a picture of Anglo-Saxon life, what weapons they used, and how they fought. This poem may be roughly regarded as standing in the same relation to early English life and manners as Homer does to those of early Greece. Though monkish chroniclers are constantly held to be liars, no one doubts now that there was a coming of the Angles and Jutes and that in the process of time they gradually conquered most of England, the last echoes of their long wars being heard in the Arthurian legends. Some of the older population, pressed hard in their old homes, went and settled in Armorica among their Celtic cousins from whom they had been separated for centuries.



Now it would be easy to find some antiquary who held that the bronze weapons found in the Anglo-Saxon parts of England were of Anglo-Saxon origin. A famous antiquary ascribed almost every earth-work seen anywhere in England to Carausius, the barbarian who made himself Emperor in Britain. If one said to such a person, 'What evidence have you that they are Saxon?' he would reply that the description of the mode of fighting, the dress and weapons of the Saxons given in the *Lay of Beowulf* fitted exactly the bronze weapons in England, for they had shields and spears, and battle-axes and swords. If you pointed out to him that the Saxon poem spoke of these weapons as made of iron, he would say 'I admit that it is a difficulty but the resemblances are so many that the discrepancies may be jettisoned.' He would not get many to support him at the present day. Yet we shall see that the attitude of Greek archaeologists in dealing with the Mycenaean age is not more rational. We may take then as fairly truthful the statements that Celtic tribes, whether red Celts, or black Celts, or Picts, were spread over all this island, and that it had a native name of its own before the Romans came and called it by a name derived from some other tribe, Britannia instead of Albion, a name in its turn replaced by that of England, derived from that tribe of Angles who gradually absorbed into their own tribal name all the other tribes of the island. If we find in certain areas, into which according to the written traditions of Romans and Saxons neither of these races ever got, bronze implements and pottery of a peculiar kind, we shall be fully justified in regarding these objects as not the creation of Roman or Saxon, but of that race who are said by the written traditions of the Romans to have been the occupants of the whole island at the time of Caesar's invasion. If we find that in Cornwall, where English is now the only language, down to 200 years ago, another speech still lingered on which was not Teutonic, but clearly shown by its remains to be one of the Celtic languages, we shall most certainly be justified in holding that the fact of a people now speaking the English language is no proof that they were originally Anglo-Saxon, or belonged to any branch of the Teutonic race. It is equally possible and it is highly probable that the same process took place in early Greece, as it certainly did in Italy, where Latin became the language not merely of the cognate Umbrian and Oscan peoples, but even of the Etruscans, who are now generally held to have spoken a non-Aryan tongue. Race after race made its way from the north into the Greek peninsula and these races were divided into numerous tribes. Pelasgians, Achaeans, and Dorians in turn were the dominant races, and into each in turn came tribes perhaps of different origin, who came to be called by the name of the master race, Pelasgians, Achaeans, or Dorians, who eventually in turn came under the all-embracing name of Hellenes just as the descendants of the Belgic tribes, of the older inhabitants of England. Roman settlers, Saxons, Angles and Jutes have all been merged into the common name of English. This certainly is the view of the early state of Hellas given by Thucydides; and the analogy of all other countries shows that his doctrine is sound. 'Before the Trojan war Hellas appears to have done nothing in common; and as it

seems to me the whole of it as yet had not even this name; nay, before the time of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, it does not appear that this appellation existed at all, but that in their different tribes, and the Pelasgian to the greatest extent, they furnished from themselves the name (of the people). But when Hellen and his sons had grown strong in Phthiotis, and men invited them for their aid into the other cities and from associating with them, separate communities were now more commonly called Hellenes: and yet not for a long time after could that name prevail amongst them all. And Homer proves this most fully; for, though born long after the Trojan war, he has nowhere called them all by that name, nor indeed any others but those that came with Achilles out of Phthiotis who are the very original Hellenes, but in his poem he mentions Danaoi, Argeioi, and Achæioi.'

Scholars are now practically unanimous in regarding the civilization of the Mycenaean age as the product of that Achæan race, whose glories enshrined in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* rest deathless. Yet learned men are not without misgivings respecting this identification and various differences more or less important have been pointed out between the civilization of Mycenæ and that of the Homeric Greeks. For instance the latter burnt the bodies of their dead, whilst on the other hand the graves of Mycenæ prove that the bodies were buried intact, possibly in some cases embalmed.

It is therefore perhaps worth while to reconsider the question anew, taking a brief survey in turn of the various races who once dwelt on the spots where these remains have been discovered, and, after a careful use of the strictest method possible in the rejecting and selecting of the various elements, finally to indicate that which seems the fittest to survive.

It is obvious that we must start our search in a region, or regions, where (1) Mycenaean remains are found in great abundance, and (2) where we can show from the Greek writers that no great number of separate races ever dwelt.

On looking down the list of regions where objects of the Mycenaean period have been found, two areas especially lend themselves to such an inquiry—Peloponnesos and Crete. The consensus of the Greek writers assures us that the former was mainly occupied by three races, two of whom—the Achæans and Dorians—came in successive waves. Thus in Laconia in historical times we find three distinct layers of population: (1) the Spartiates who formed the ruling caste, the descendants of the Dorians who at some period later than the composition of the Homeric poems entered Peloponnesus, and conquered certain portions of it; (2) the Perioeci, who represented the descendants of the Achæans, conquered by the Dorians; (3) the Helots, the descendants of the race which the Achæans found in possession of the land, and whom they reduced to serfdom in those regions which they conquered. These Helots were almost certainly the same race as the Arcadians, who in their native fastnesses seem to have been able to keep out both Achæan and Dorian.

In the Homeric poems we find Argolis with its cities such as Mycenae, and Laconia with Sparta its capital, held by the Pelopidae. In classical times Dorians are the rulers of both districts.

It is in this part of Hellas that we meet the chief remains of the Mycenaean epoch, and we may well assume as a starting-point that the remains are the outcome of either the Achaeans, or that old race that preceded the Achaeans.

Let us now turn to Crete, where, as already stated, extensive remains of the Mycenaean age have been brought to light. As it is an island far removed from the rest of Greece, it was much less likely to have its population mixed by constant advances of other tribes, such as took place in the history of northern Greece and northern Italy. In the case of the latter a roving tribe might at any time descend from Balkan or Alps, but in the case of Crete only people equipped with ships could enter it.

In the *Odyssey* (xix. 170 seqq.) we get a very explicit account of Crete and its inhabitants :—

Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ Φοίνιοπι πόντῳ,  
καλὴ καὶ πλείρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι  
πολλοὶ ἄπειρέσιοι καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις.  
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,  
ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,  
Δωριέες τε τριχῦϊκες, δίοί τε Πελασγοί.  
τοῖσι<sup>13</sup> δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσος, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως  
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε, Διὸς μεγάλου ἄριστις,  
πατρὸς ἐμείο πατὴρ μεγαθύμου Δευκάλωνος.

In this most important passage the poet gives us a complete ethnology of Crete. Most scholars will admit that some one of the five races here enumerated—Achaeans, Eteocretes, Cydones, Dorians, Pelasgi—has produced the 'Mycenaean' remains found in Crete. It is absurd to suppose that either the Eteocretes or Cydones ever held such a dominant position on the mainland of Hellas as to have founded Mycenae and Tiryns, or Orchomenos, or to have occupied Attica and the Acropolis of Athens. The voice of history could not have been so completely hushed, if such had been the case. As it is, all the writers of antiquity are dumb. We may therefore reject both the True-Cretans and Cydoneans. We are therefore left three races, Achaeans, Dorians and Pelasgi, from whom to select the engravers of the ancient Cretan gems and the builders of the great structures of Chossus and Goulas.

We have had Achaeans and Dorians as two of the three races one of whose number in Peloponnesus must have been the producer of Mycenaean

<sup>13</sup> τοῖσι is read by Eustathius and a good many MSS.; πῆσι is the common reading, but the feminine gender was readily suggested to the copyist by μεγάλη πόλις. It is not Homeric

to refer back to ἐννήκοντα πόλεις four lines above, especially when five masculine names have intervened.

remains. The third race I have only alluded to as that found surviving in the Helots of Laconia and the aboriginal inhabitants of Arcadia. Who were this people? The ancient authors give us abundant notices of a people who dwelt in Peloponnesus before the Achæan conquest, and those who hold that in the statements of the ancients there is at least a solid kernel of historical truth will readily admit that a race of great power once reigned in the chief cities of Argolis and Laconia before that Achæan conquest.

To those who approach the ancient historians in that peculiar spirit of scepticism which is ready to declare that certain statements of Thucydides or Herodotus are false, and at the same time are building theories of the early history of Greece out of passages in these very authors, I cannot appeal. My immediate object is to show that in the Peloponnesus there lived a race antecedent to the Achæans and Dorians, whom the ancients knew under the name Pelasgi. To venture to write about this race is enough to bring down on the writer grave suspicions that he is one of those who deal with Druids, and who see in the Great Pyramid the key to mystic systems of chronology and astrology.

Accordingly, with a view to showing that a man may believe in the historical reality of the Pelasgi, and may with safety still be allowed to mix with his neighbours, let me say that I can quote the opinions of four historians, whose scepticism or sobermindedness no one has yet called in question—Niebuhr, Thirlwall, Grote and E. Curtius.

I can best express the feelings with which I approach this subject by quoting the vigorous words of Niebuhr:<sup>14</sup> ‘The name of this people, of whom the historical inquirers in the age of Augustus could find no trace among any then subsisting, and about whom so many opinions have been maintained with such confidence of late, is irksome to the historian, hating as he does that spurious philology which raises pretensions to knowledge concerning races so completely buried in silence, and is revolting on account of the scandalous abuse that has been made of imaginary Pelasgic mysteries and lore. This disgust has hitherto kept me from speaking of the Pelasgians in general, especially as by doing so I might only be opening a way for a new influx of writings on this unfortunate subject. I was desirous of confining myself to such tribes of this nation as are mentioned among the inhabitants of Italy: but this would leave the investigation wholly unsatisfactory, and the one I am now about to commence does not pretend to make out anything else than Strabo, for instance, if he set what he knew distinctly before his own mind, might have given as the result.’

At this point of the inquiry it is sufficient for my purpose to point out that Ephorus, quoted by Strabo,<sup>15</sup> states that Peloponnesus had been called Pelasgia in ancient times, a statement supported and confirmed by Aeschylus not only in the extant play of the *Suppliants*, in several passages (referring especially to Argolis), but also in the lost play of the *Danaïdes*, referred to by

<sup>14</sup> *History of Rome*, i 26. 27. (Engl. Trans.) Πελασγίαν φησὶν κληθῆναι.

<sup>15</sup> 220 καὶ Ἐφῶρος τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ

Strabo (*loc. cit.*). Aeschylus states in his *Suppliants* and *Danaïdes* that their race (Pelasgian) is sprung from Argos that lies around Mycenae. The still older testimony of Hesiod, quoted likewise by Strabo in the same passage, makes the Pelasgians Arcadian in origin.

We therefore have good ancient tradition that, in addition to the Achaeans and Dorians, a third race, and that the Pelasgi, had once been of great power in Peloponnesus, especially in Argolis and Arcadia. These three peoples are identical with those of whom one must have been the creator of the Mycenaean remains of Crete. As scholars admit that it is the same race who has left those remains everywhere, it must be one of the three races who made those objects found in Crete who produced them elsewhere. But as the distinct voice of all Greek history avers that these same peoples, whom we found in Crete, once occupied positions of primary importance in Peloponnesus, the conclusion is irresistible that it was one of the same three races who produced the Mycenaean remains of Peloponnesus.

If then the conclusion is so strong with reference to the authorship of the Mycenaean remains found in two of the most important regions where objects of that peculiar civilization are found, then there is a high probability that the same kind of remains, no matter where they are found, is the product of one of these three races. If we can then, by the means of the criteria afforded us by the Greek writers, ascertain which of these three races produced the Mycenaean objects found in one or more of the areas given above, we may reasonably conclude that this race is the creator of this great civilization.

We shall now work backwards from the better known to the less known. Of our three claimants for the prae-historic glories of Argolis and Laconia, the Dorian comes latest. He is the occupant of both in the classical days of Greece; behind him stands the Achaean, a remnant of whose race in historical times still occupies the district of Achaia, and in the evil days of Hellas forms the Achaean League, the last bright flash that came before the end. Between Dorian and Achaean then must be the first combat, whilst the Pelasgian waits in the dark background of Greek history as Ephedros to fight the victor of the first bout.

The Dorian has never been seriously put forward as a candidate (for Busolt's attempt has utterly failed). The weight of evidence is certainly against him. The general view has been that he it was who swept away that old civilization so clearly limned for us in Homer. This view seems the true one. We have a clear picture of the habits of life of the Spartans, who were the foremost in power of the Dorians in historic times. To attribute the building of great Cyclopean walls to a people whose boast it was to live in a town of unwall'd villages, and who were so notoriously incompetent in the conduct of siege operations, would indeed be ridiculous: and we see that the Dorians of Argolis never occupied in historical times the great fortresses of Mycenae and Tiryns. It would be no less absurd to ascribe the beautiful works in gold, silver, bronze, pottery and ivory from the graves of Mycenae to a rude and barbarous race, by whose constitution the use of the precious metals was forbidden and who in their manner of life are still a proverb for

rudeness and simplicity. The Achaeans of the Homeric poems are in the late Bronze Age and are using iron freely for all the purposes of life, for axes and for the shoeing of the plough. With the Dorians who conquered the Achaeans iron is almost the only metal in use. Not even money of bronze was used in Sparta, but only bars of iron. How can we reasonably suppose such a people to have built these tombs of Mycenae, where not a scrap of iron save two or three finger rings has been discovered? If necessary the geographical argument might be used, but it will be sufficient if I point out that there is not a jot of evidence that the Dorians ever occupied the Troad and the Aeolid, regions where Mycenaean remains have been found in quantity. The claims of the Dorian must give way before those of the Achaean, who is portrayed in the Homeric poems as dwelling surrounded with costly articles of gold, silver, bronze and ivory. The race who lived in royal splendour must certainly be preferred as claimants to that under whose domination Mycenae was only the dwelling-place of the owl and the bat, or at most the stall of shepherds or the fastness of revolted serfs.

The final struggle now comes between the victorious Achaean and the Pelasgian Ephedros. Before we enter on this stage of the investigation it will be advisable to rehearse the conditions of the problem. We want a race: (1) who can be shown by history and legend to have once at an early period of Greek history occupied the various localities in which Mycenaean remains have been found; (2) a race, whose civilization as set forth in the ancient writers coincides with that unveiled at Mycenae, or at least does not differ from it; (3) who used a form of pictographic writing in Crete, Attica and Peloponnesus similar to that in use on the so-called Hittite seals found in Asia Minor and to the Cyprian syllabary. In reference to the first condition, it will be admitted that if we find Mycenaean remains in any area which the unanimous witness of antiquity declares was never occupied by the one race, but was occupied by the other, the latter race has a superior claim. If we find this taking place not in one but in two or more, the claim becomes irresistible. With regard to the second condition, that of civilization, it will be admitted that if the civilization of the Achaeans as exhibited in Homer is found to differ materially from that of prae-historic Mycenae, the latter must be regarded as belonging to the older race. For what we have already arrived at in the case of the Dorians forbids us from considering the Mycenaean civilization of a later age than that of the Homeric Achaeans.

Let us now take the various regions in which Mycenaean remains have been found in the order in which we enumerated them above; discussing as briefly as possible the historical evidence for the occupation of each by Achaeans and Pelasgians.

I. PELOPONNESUS.—Greek traditions with one accord declare that Peloponnesus was inhabited in the earliest times by the Pelasgians. I have already quoted a statement of Ephorus that Peloponnesus was called Pelasgia. Ephorus wrote in the 4th century B.C., but he drew his information from very ancient sources, the old genealogers such as Hesiod. As Strabo gives a

summary to which I have already referred of the salient features of the traditions respecting the Pelasgi, and as the statements of the older Greek writers embodied in it show unmistakably that Peloponnesus was the chief seat of the Pelasgian race, I shall give it *in extenso* :—

‘That the Pelasgians were an ancient tribe holding a leading position over all Hellas, and especially among the Aeolians who occupied Thessaly, all are agreed. But Ephorus states that he thinks that being originally from Arcadia they chose a military life, and having persuaded many others to the same course they shared their name with all, and acquired wide renown both among the Hellenes and among all the others, wherever they happened to come. For as a matter of fact they became colonists of Crete, as Homer states. For example Odysseus says to Penelope—

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,  
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκριτες μεγάλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,  
Δωρίεες τε τριχάικες, δίοί τε Πελασγοί.

and Thessaly is called the Pelasgian Argos, the part that lies between the mouths of the Peneius and Thermopylae as far as the mountain district that lies along Pindus, on account of the Pelasgians formerly having ruled over these districts, and the poet himself applies the name Pelasgic to the Dodonaean Zeus—

Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε Πελασγικέ.

Many have likewise asserted that the nations of Epirus are Pelasgian, because the dominion of the Pelasgians extended so far. And as many of the heroes have been named Pelasgi, later writers have applied that name to the nations over which they were the chiefs. For as a matter of fact they spoke of Lesbos as Pelasgia and Homer calls the Pelasgians the neighbours of the Cilicians in the Troad—

Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμῶρων,  
τὼν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα ναιετάασκον.

Hesiod was Ephorus' source for the doctrine that their origin was from Arcadia. For he says :—

υἱέες ἐξεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέοιο,  
ὃν ποτε τίκτε Πελασγός,

but Aeschylus in his *Suppliants* and his *Ionians* says their race is from Argos that lies round Mycenae; and again Euripides says that Peloponnesus was called Pelasgia, and again in his *Archelaus* says :—

Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ  
ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἀργος ᾧκισ' Ἰνάχου πόλιν  
Πελασγιώτας δ' ὀνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν  
Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα.

Anticleides states that they were the first to settle the regions round Lemnos and Imbros, and further that some of these along with Tyrrhenus the son of

Atys set out into Italy, and the writers of the *Atthis* relate that the Pelasgians were at Athens also, and that owing to their being wanderers, and roaming about like birds to whatever places they chanced to come, they were called Pelargi (Storks) by the people of Attica.'

The statements here given from Hesiod, Aeschylus, Euripides and Ephorus point clearly to an extensive occupation of Peloponnesus, and that very part too where Mycenaean remains are especially common. There cannot be much doubt that if the Pelasgians ruled the district lying around Mycenae, it must have been prior to the Achaean occupation of the same region. For there can be no reasonable doubt that the Dorians found the Achaeans as the rulers of Argolis and Laconia. The short extract given from Strabo can be greatly amplified from other Greek sources, and the legends of the Achaeans themselves in every case presuppose the existence in Peloponnesus of ancient and powerful cities only recently acquired by the Achaeans, and also of entire regions still unconquered, occupied as in the case of Arcadia by the old inhabitants. The accounts of the Tragic poets, Hesiod, and Ephorus are quite in accord with the knowledge afforded us by Homer. It is the glories of the sons of the Achaeans that are sung in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and it is from these poems that we reconstruct our picture of the Achaean civilization. But if we hearken to what these epics tell us of the Achaeans, we must give equal heed to what they tell us of a prior age, and people into whose heritage they entered and to whose civilization they were assimilated.

(1) *Argolis*. We find traces in Homer that it had but recently come under a new domination. Mycenae, 'wealthy in gold,' the seat of Agamemnon 'king of men,' is not an ancient inheritance of the dynasty of the Pelopidae. Atreus, the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus, was the first of his race who reigned there. Thucydides gives us most definite information on the point:—

'It is said too by those of the Peloponnesians who have received the most certain accounts by tradition from their forefathers, that Pelops first acquired power by the abundance of riches with which he came from Asia to men who were needy, and, although a newcomer, gave his name to the country; and that afterwards still greater power fell to the lot of his descendants, as Eurystheus was killed in Attica by the Heraclidae, and Atreus was his mother's brother, and Eurystheus, when joining in the expedition, entrusted Mycenae and the government to Atreus on the ground of their connection (he happened to be flying from his father on account of the death of Chrysippus); and when Eurystheus did not return again they say that at the wish of the Myceneans themselves through their fear of the Heraclidae, and also because he appeared to be powerful and had courted the commons, Atreus received the kingdom of the Myceneans and all that Eurystheus ruled over; and that so the descendants of Pelops became greater than the descendants of Perseus.'<sup>16</sup> In any case the dynasty only

<sup>16</sup> Thuc. i. 9.



began with Pelops, the father of Atreus, and thus within two generations their reign at Mycenae must have begun. There is no contradiction in Homer of the belief of Aeschylus that another and very ancient people had held the country round Mycenae. It was one of the three cities held expressly dear by Hera.<sup>17</sup>

And it is also one of the towns called 'rich in gold' (πολύχρυσος) in Homer, the other two being Ilios and Orchomenos in Boeotia, called the 'Minyan.' The latter cities were both of ancient prosperity, and it is on the whole more probable that Mycenae is called by a similar name because it was likewise famous for its long continued wealth and splendour, and not because it had suddenly sprung up under one or two reigns. The legends fully confirm this, for the walls of Mycenae are ascribed to the same builders as those who built those of Tiryns for king Proetus, who was certainly not Achaeon, as we shall see very shortly. Thus Euripides (*Iph. Aul.* 1500) speaks of them as the work of the Cyclopes. Pausanias 'saw at Mycenae' the subterranean buildings of the sons of Atreus, where they hid the treasures of their wealth. 'There is likewise the grave of Atreus, and the graves of all those who after their return from Ilios along with Agamemnon Aegisthus feasted and then murdered; Cassandra and her twin sons that she bore Agamemnon, Eurymedon, his charioteer, and Teledamus.'<sup>18</sup> But though Greek tradition linked with the names of Atreus and Agamemnon the graves of the Acropolis of Mycenae, and the beehive tombs outside, nevertheless the foundation of the great walls and the Lion gateway, in spite of all the temptation there was to connect them likewise with the Atreidae, were ascribed to an older time and race. Thus Pausanias (*loc. cit.*), after mentioning the final overthrow of the city by the Argives in 458 B.C., says 'nevertheless there still remain both other portions of the surrounding wall, and the gate, and on it stand lions. But they say that these likewise are works of the Cyclopes, who constructed for Proetus the wall at Tiryns.'

(2) Coming now to *Tiryns* we can get more definite statements about it and its foundation and mythical history. Already in Homeric times it is renowned for its walls, for it is called *τειχιόεσσα* (*Il.* ii. 559).

In Homeric times it is but of little importance. No chieftain of any note comes from it. Once only is it named, and that with a number of the lesser towns of Argolis, which sent contingents to Troy. In that place we find already the great walls, which Pausanias said might be compared to the pyramids of Egypt for their marvellous size. These walls were ascribed by later tradition to king Proetus, who employed in their construction the Cyclopes from Lycia. So Pausanias has told us in the passage just quoted.<sup>19</sup>

The story of Proetus is no figment of the late Greek writers, any more than is the tradition of Cyclopean workmen. But whilst the latter is sanctified by Pindar,<sup>20</sup> who speaks of the *Κυκλώπια πρόθυρα* of Tiryns, and

<sup>17</sup> *Il.* iv. 51-2

<sup>18</sup> *ii.* 16, 5.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Strabo 373.

<sup>20</sup> *Fragment* 612.

by Euripides in the *Hercules Furens*,<sup>21</sup> the name of Proetus meets us in one of the most famous passages in Homer: as the husband of the wicked Sthenoboea, who, having in vain tempted Bellerophon, falsely accused him to her husband. Proetus was a righteous man, and shrank from the pollution of slaying Bellerophon, so he sent him to his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, having given him those *σήματα λυγρὰ*, inscribed in a folded tablet, around which controversy has so often raged, and to which I shall presently return.

Proetus was brother of Acrisius, father of Danae. 'The sons of Abas, the son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom. Acrisius remained at Argos, but Proetus got possession of the Heraeum and Midea, and Tiryns, and all the seaboard of the Argive land, and there are marks of the settlement of Proetus at Tiryns.'

The Lynceus from whom Proetus was descended was that single one of the sons of Aegyptus who escaped the murderous hands of the daughters of Danaus through the tender-heartedness of the 'splendide mendax' Hypermnestra. Proetus therefore is a descendant of Io, and one of that ancient Pelagic race who, according to Aeschylus, reigned in Argos, that Argos that lay around Mycenae. The term Argos has given rise to much confusion, and at this point a few words on this subject will not be out of place. In Homer Argos regularly means (1) the whole region which we commonly term Argolis. This is evident from various passages such as *Il.* vi. 153, and in *Od.* iii. 263 Mycenae is described in the same language; Aegisthus at Mycenae is spoken of thus: *ὁ δ' εὐκηλος μυχῶν Ἀργεος ἵπποβότοιο*. (2) Argos is used of a city, either the city called Argos in historical times or more probably the Heraeum. For Hera names Argos first of the three cities which are most dear to her.

The Argos so beloved ought to be the place which contains the sanctuary; here many Mycenaean objects have been found by Prof. Waldstein—pottery and engraved stones—whilst at Argos proper of later times up to the present no Mycenaean objects have been found. It is not unlikely that the Argos of later times was called Larisa originally, for the acropolis always retained that name (*Paus.* ii. 24. 1). There was also a shrine at the historical Argos of Demeter Pelasgis. This connects Argos with the Pelasgians and the equine Demeter of Phigalia. The confusion between Mycenae and the district in which it was situated was easy, and after the downfall of Mycenae and the rise of the new Argos of the Dorian period, the dramatic writers usually spoke of Mycenae as Argos. In a passage already quoted Pausanias<sup>22</sup> tells us that Proetus obtained the Heraeum, Midea and Tiryns as his share. In another passage (ii. 12, 2) he tells us that Proetus built a temple of Hera; 'after coming to Sicyon from Titane and as you pass down to the sea, there is a temple of Hera, and they say that the founder was Proetus the son of Abas.' Proetus is thus associated with the building of Hera-shrines, and also as possessing the Heraeum.

<sup>21</sup> *Herc. Fur.* 495.

<sup>22</sup> Pausanias ii. 16. 2.

Pausanias, embodying the beliefs of the Greeks, believed that the Heraeum belonged to the prae-Achaean time. In that case we may well regard the early remains found at the Heraeum and the accompanying Egyptian scarabs as going back to a period when the Achaeans were still living in Phthiotis, and had not yet set foot in the Peloponnesus.

Proetus and Acrisius were descended from Lynceus, son of Aegyptus, and Hypermnestra, daughter of Danaus. The story is too well known to need repetition. Io, daughter of Iasus of Argos, whether she reached Egypt by a series of overland journeyings, or as Herodotus states (i. 2), there gave birth to Epaphus, 'the swarthy' ὁ Δῖος πόρτις βοός. Danaus and Aegyptus were his descendants. They quarrelled. Danaus on his way back to Greece put into Rhodes, and there set up the idol of Athena at Lindus. He and his daughters came to Argolis, pursued by the sons of Aegyptus as set forth in the *Suppliants* by Aeschylus. They claim protection from the king of Argos, as being his kindred. This king is named Pelasgus, and Argos is called a city of the Pelasgians. According to Greek tradition of an early time, these refugees from Egypt were of the old Pelasgian race.

(3) *Nauplia*. This was the ancient seaport of Argolis. It stood twelve stades distant from Tiryns. Here there are tombs of the Mycenaean period at the place known as Palamidi. Its founder was Nauplius, son of Poseidon and Amymone: he was therefore an autochthon; Palamedes was his son. The latter was the inventor of writing, according to a Greek tradition up to the present treated with the same scepticism with which the story of Cadmus being the introducer of the Phoenician letters into Greece was received until our own generation, when increased knowledge has shown the statement to be intrinsically true. When I deal with the question of Mycenaean pictographs, I shall return to him.

According to Pausanias, Danaus planted an Egyptian colony there. In historic times the city still kept apart from the rest of Argolis, and it was only at a later period that it became the port of Argos. It continued long to be a member of that very ancient amphictyony of Calaurcia. We shall find Nauplius in close relations with the Pelasgian kings of Tegea, engaged in trading to Mysia and north-western Asia Minor. Once more the Greek tradition points clearly to a prae-Achaean history for Nauplia.

To sum up the results of an examination of the five places in Argolis where Mycenaean remains have been found, we find that Mycenae has a prae-Achaean origin assigned to its walls and gate the same as that assigned to Tiryns. The latter has nothing Achaean associated with it. Proetus is its founder, and Pausanias connected with him the remains existing in his time. The Heraeum is linked to Proetus, and so too is Midea; and lastly, Nauplia is considered non-Achaean, with a population settled there by Danaus. The remains then found in these five places must, if we allow any weight to tradition, be assigned to a people who preceded the Achaeans. This people the Greeks knew as Pelasgians.

4) *Laconia*. In the *Odyssey* we find Menelaus, the son of Atreus,

dwelling at Sparta in a house of great splendour, adorned with gold, silver ivory and amber. The current idea of an Achaean palace is made up from this palace at Sparta, that of Alcinoos the Phaeacian, and that of Odysseus at Ithaca. The frieze adorned with blue glass from the palace at Tiryns is compared to that in the house of Alcinoos. But are we justified in considering the Spartan or the Phaeacian palace Achaean? Menelaus occupies that at Sparta in virtue of his marriage with Helen, the daughter of Tyndareus. He was altogether a new comer. There was a very ancient dynasty there of which Tyndareus was the last king. This dynasty can be shown from the ancient pedigrees to be not Achaean. That the ancient genealogies may be used for questions of race was the opinion of Niebuhr. Such pedigrees can be easily remembered and transmitted, as amongst the chieftain families of all countries they are held of supreme importance. If Homer is sufficient as a witness, it was so in early Greece. There are constant recitations of pedigrees in the Poems; and further, that such were part of the lore imparted by the elders to the younger, is shown by the words of Nestor, who tells how Tydeus had discoursed to him—

*πάντων Ἀργείων ἐρέων γενεὴν τε τόκον τε.*<sup>23</sup>

We may therefore reasonably take as a fair piece of evidence for race the pedigree of Tyndareus. He was the son of Oebalus and Gorgophone. Gorgophone was the daughter of Perseus, who was the son of Danae, who was the daughter of Acrisius, whose Pelasgian pedigree I have already proved. Oebalus was the son of Cynortas, who was the son of Amyclas, who was the son of Lacedaemon, who was the son of Zeus. Tyndareus is thus descended on the father's side from the autochthonous founders of Lacedaemon and Amyclae without any suspicion of any strain of the blood of the new Achaeans, the sons of Xuthus, the son of Hellen, that king of Thessaly from whom the Achaeans traced their descent.

We may therefore reasonably conclude that the palace at Sparta occupied by Menelaus and Helen, where Telemachus visited them, was the ancient residence of Tyndareus and the old kings of Sparta. That it was more splendid than the usual residence of an Achaean king is certain from the words in which the poet describes the wonder and admiration that filled Telemachus and his comrade Nestor's son.

If it be said that it was because of the great wealth and rich store of gifts brought back from his wanderings that the two young princes were lost in admiration at the embellishments of gold, silver, ivory and amber, our answer is ready. Such palaces were known elsewhere in Homer's world. The palace of Alcinoos is indeed splendid, with its four pillars round the great hearth in the centre of the Megaron, and its frieze of blue glass (*θριγκὸς κυάνοιο*). But the Phaeacians are certainly not Achaeans. They build with huge stones which have to be dragged (*ρύτοι λίθοι*), which seems to link their architecture to the Cyclopean masonry of Mycenae and Tiryns.<sup>24</sup> But I

<sup>23</sup> *Il.* vii. 125.

<sup>24</sup> *Od.* vi. 267.

shall have to return to them later on. Now if we take the house of Odysseus as the type of the Achæan chieftain's palace, how different it is from that of Menelaus and Alcinoos. There is no sumptuous adornment of cyanus or amber or ivory. The most elaborate article in it is the great bedstead formed out of a tree, and carved by Odysseus himself, which was built into his bed-chamber. The stage of art is totally different in each, if we contrast the sumptuous decoration of Spartan and Phæacian chambers with the wood-carving of the other.

There is also another curious piece of evidence which indicates that the Achæans are but new-comers in Laconia. Menelaus tells Telemachus that his desire had been to bring Odysseus from Ithaca with all his folk, and to settle him near himself, after having laid waste for this purpose some neighbouring city—

*μίαν πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξας*  
*αἱ περιναϊεταῖοι, φανύσσονται δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ* (*Od.* iv. 176).

It cannot be meant that Menelaus would destroy a free Achæan town, occupied by his own followers; but if there was an older population, lately half subdued, yielding a sullen homage, and always a source of danger, we can well understand the desire of Menelaus to bring in Achæan chiefs with their followers to occupy and garrison the country. The evidence then points in favour of an older race of great power and civilization in Sparta before the Achæans got possession.

We have now seen the positive evidence from Homer and the Greek traditions as given by Aeschylus and others for the existence of a præ-Achæan race in Peloponnesus, a race which Aeschylus knew as the Pelasgians. Let us now see how far this is compatible with the legends which embody the earliest history of the Achæans and their first entry into the Peloponnesus. Achæus, the Eponymus of the race, was the son of Xuthus, the son of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, king of Thessaly.<sup>25</sup> Achæus however in some stories appears with very different parentage and accompaniments. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>26</sup> Achæus Phthius and Pelasgus are sons of Poseidon and Larisa. They migrate from Peloponnesus into Thessaly and distributed the Thessalian territory between them, giving their names to the principal divisions. Their descendants six generations later were driven out of Thessaly by Deucalion.

This was, says Grote, 'to provide an Eponymus for the Achæans in the southern districts of Thessaly. Pausanias accomplishes the same object by a different means, representing Achæus, the son of Xuthus, as having gone back to Thessaly and occupied the portion of it to which his father was entitled. Then, by way of explaining how it was that there were Achæans at Sparta and not Argos, he tells us that Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achæus, came from Thessaly to Peloponnesus and married two daughters of Danaus.' They acquired great influence at Argos and Sparta, and gave to the people the name of Achæans.

<sup>25</sup> Paus. vii. 1, 1-8.

<sup>26</sup> Diony. i. 17. Larisa as mother indicates that they came from Larisa in Argos.

Herodotus also mentions Archander, son of Phthius and grandson of Achaeus, who married the daughter of Danaus.

Strabo, following Ephorus, says 'that the Achaean Phthiotae, who with Pelops made an irruption into Peloponnesus, settled in Laconia, and were so much distinguished for their valour that Peloponnesus, which for a long period up to this time had the name of Argos, was called Achaean Argos and not Peloponnesus, which had been the name, and Laconia also was thus peculiarly designated. From Laconia the Achaeans were expelled by the Dorians, and went and settled in what was known as Achaea properly so called, expelling the Ionians therefrom.'<sup>27</sup>

Here then we have the Greek traditions respecting the coming of the Achaeans into the Peloponnesus. These stand out distinct in themselves from any of the statements about the Pelasgians, and therefore embody a different line of evidence. Does this harmonize or does it contradict the statements of Hesiod and Aeschylus and Ephorus about the Pelasgian occupation of the Peloponnesus? It plainly supports it. For Herodotus makes Archander the Achaean marry a daughter of Danaus, a statement in which he is supported by Pausanias, although there is a slight variant in the pedigree, Herodotus making Archander son of Phthius and grandson of Achaeus, whereas Pausanias makes Achaeus and Phthius brothers. Yet the story assumes in either case that there was an ancient race of great importance of which Danaus was king, in full possession of Argolis and Sparta. The story told by Strabo of the coming of the Achaeans under the leadership of Pelops makes a similar assumption, for if there is any story in Greek legend which keeps to one positive version, it is that Pelops the Phrygian was a late comer into Peloponnesus, where he found ancient dynasties in full sway, and that he gained his kingdom by marrying Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaus. We have seen above how his son Atreus got the throne of Mycenae and supplanted the ancient Perseid line, and how his grandson Menelaus, by marrying Helen, the heiress of Tyndareus, gained possession of Sparta. If the sceptic point with derision to the wide difference between the story of Herodotus and Pausanias and that told by Strabo, my answer is that such different stories of the first coming of the Achaeans are by no means incompatible with historical truth. Who can tell when the Saxons first entered England? One story of their coming represents Hengist and Horsa as coming in to aid the British king Vortigern against the Picts and Scots, and settling in the south of England; but on the other hand, it is not at all improbable that the earliest Saxon settlements were in Northumbria. Who can tell whether the Danes who settled in Ireland first got their footing at Dublin or Waterford? The fact is that when the tide of colonizing and conquest begins to flow, different bodies of invaders make their appearance, almost simultaneously in some cases, at different points; sometimes small bodies of men seeking new homes paved the way (such as Archander and Architeles of the Achaean legend), to be followed later on by far larger bodies of population.

The incoming of valiant strangers who marry the daughters of the old kingly houses, is no mere figment of the Greek legend-mongers. History is full of such. Strongbow the Norman aids Dermot MacMorogh and marries his daughter Eva; and in more modern days Captain John Smith married the Indian princess Pocahontas, from whom the best families in Virginia are proud to trace their descent.

Again the story of the Phrygian Pelops leading the Achaeans may raise a snuff of incredulity. But it must not be forgotten that at all times and especially in barbaric days it is the chieftain's personality which is the weightiest factor. If a man of great personal prowess arises, men of other races are quite ready to follow him. How many of the countless hordes who followed Genghis Khan were of the same race as their captain? In our own time we have seen with what readiness the Zulus were willing to follow as their chief the Englishman, John Dunn.

As the Achaean legends assume the existence of an older race in Peloponnesus it will not be sufficient for the sceptic to assail my position by denying the existence of the Pelasgians in Peloponnesus on the ground that the Hesiodic genealogy is a pure fabrication; he must also be prepared to cast away as utterly worthless the Achaean legend, which not only falls in with the Pelasgic legend, but fits exactly into the statements of the Homeric poems.

(5) *Arcadia*. We have now come to the last of the districts of Peloponnesus which has, up to the present, revealed Mycenaean remains in any form.

If the existence of such remains can be proved for Arcadia, the consequences are of the very highest importance for our quest. Up to the present I can only point to one Mycenaean object, an engraved gem of the pure Mycenaean type found at Phigaleia in the south-west corner of Arcadia. To reason dogmatically from the finding of one or two objects of this description which might very well be waifs, would be indeed foolish. On the other hand to say that Arcadia does not contain Mycenaean antiquities because as yet no large group of them has been discovered, would be still more so. For at any moment the spade may present us with ample confirmation of the indications given by the Phigaleian gem. Attica herself has only at a comparatively recent date given up any of her buried treasures of this description and yet Attic soil has been more ransacked than any part of Greece. But if I can show that there were monuments in Arcadia, venerated as ancient in the days when the *Iliad* was written, and that these monuments were of the same kind as those found at Mycenae, I shall have proved an important step: and though up to the present there has been no scientific investigation of any such remains in Arcadia, if it can be proved that such Mycenaean antiquities exist as native in the district, it will be indeed hard to maintain that they are of Achaean or Dorian origin, unless we are prepared to give the lie direct to all Greek history. 'Arcadia,' says E. Curtius, 'the ancients regarded as a pre-eminent Pelasgian country; here, as they

thought, the autochthonic condition of the primitive inhabitants had preserved itself longest, and had been least disturbed by the intrusion of foreign elements.' <sup>28</sup>

This assertion may be taken as a sound historical fact, for Thucydides <sup>29</sup> expressly tells us that Arcadia was the one part of Peloponnesus which had known no change of inhabitants. Pausanias (viii. 4, 1) says Arcadia was formerly called Pelasgia, and that the Arcadians were Pelasgians. Strabo gives the same account, and tells us that the Arcadians preserved the Aeolic dialect.

If Mycenaean remains are indigenous in Arcadia, it is certain that they are not Achaean. Twice are the Arcadians mentioned in the *Iliad*. In the Catalogue a contingent of no less than sixty ships is supplied by the men of Arcady :— <sup>30</sup>

οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,  
Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον, ἔν' ἀνέρες ἀγχιμαχίται,  
οἱ Φένεόν τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀρχόμενον πολύμηλον,  
Ῥίπην τε Στρατίην τε καὶ ἡγεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην,  
καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἐρατεινήν,  
Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο.

Who was this Aepytus, whose grave was so famous as to be a well-known landmark when the *Iliad* was composed, and what was the nature of this tomb? Answers are ready for each question. I shall take them in reverse order. Pausanias <sup>31</sup> saw this very monument in the second century A.D. 'The grave of Aepytus I looked at with special interest, because Homer in his verses referring to the Arcadians made mention of the tomb of Aepytus: it is a mound of earth of no great size enclosed by a circular kerbing of stone.' <sup>32</sup>

I have already spoken of the well-known circular stone enclosure on the Acropolis of Mycenae, which Schliemann took for the Agora; but which Tsountas has well explained as a ring of stonework to keep the earthen mound over the graves together. This Arcadian grave seems to confirm Tsountas, as here we have a grave similarly constructed. If this grave seen by Pausanias was really the tomb of the Aepyti, we may now be certain that such graves are non-Achaean in origin, though Achaean conquerors may have buried their dead in them, just as Romans buried in British barrows and Saxons buried in Roman cemeteries. Who was this Aepytus, whose grave was probably the object of periodical sacrifices like that of the hero Leucippus at Daulis? If that were so there would be an unbroken tradition of the occupants of the tomb down to the time of Pausanias. <sup>33</sup> Aepytus was the son of Elatus, who

<sup>28</sup> Curtius i. 173.

<sup>29</sup> Thucyd. i. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Il.* ii. 603 seqq.

<sup>31</sup> viii. 16, 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Il.* ἔστι μὲν οὖν γῆς χώμα οὐ μέγα λίθου

κρηπῖδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον.

<sup>33</sup> Sir W. Gell saw a tumulus surrounded by a loose stone wall, which he identified as that of Aepytus, but the locality does not agree with that given by Pausanias.



was the son of Arcas, who was the son of Callisto, who was the daughter of Lycaon, who was the son of Pelasgus, who was the son of Zeus.<sup>34</sup>

If it be objected that as Callisto was turned into a bear, she must therefore have been simply a totem, and that consequently Lycaon and Pelasgus are mere later additions, the answer is that in that case such famous persons as Pandion, the father of Procne and Philomela, and Nisus the father of Scylla must be expelled from two of the best known of Greek legends. The fact is that there are abundant cases of metamorphism into birds and beasts in early Greece beside cases which may be taken as totems. Did Circe make totems of the companions of Odysseus?

There can be no question as to the genuine Pelasgian origin of the tomb of Aepytus mentioned by Homer. Aepytus is fourth in descent from Lycaon. The sons of Lycaon play a part of primary importance in the mythical period. For this reason I think it better to quote Niebuhr's summary of the evidence relating to them and its value than to give a statement in my own words:—

‘Pherecydes (Dionysius i. 13) states that Oenotrus was one of the twenty sons of Lycaon son of Pelasgus, and that the Oenotrians were named after him, as the Peucetians on the Ionian Gulf were after his brother Peucetus. They migrated from Arcadia (Dionys. i. 11) seventeen generations before the Trojan war, with a multitude of Arcadians and other Greeks; who were pressed for room at home. And this, says Pausanias (*Arcad.* c. iii.), is the earliest colony, whether of Greeks or barbarians, whereof a recollection has been preserved. Other genealogers have stated the number of the Lycaonids differently. The names found in Pausanias amount to six and twenty and some have dropped out of the text. Apollodorus (iii. 8, 1) reckons them at fifty, of which number his list falls short by one. Very few in the two lists are the same; Pausanias has no Peucetus, Apollodorus neither him nor Oenotrus, but the strangest thing is that though their names mark them all out as founders of races or of cities, still the latter mythologer makes them all perish in Deucalion's flood. It is clear that he or the author he followed must have already mixed up a legend about certain impious sons of Lycaon, who perhaps were nameless, with the tradition which enumerated the towns of Arcadia and such as were of kindred origin under the names of their pretended founders. Legends of this sort will not be looked upon by any as historical, but in the light of national pedigrees like the Mosaical, such genealogies are deserving of attention inasmuch as they present views concerning the affinity of nations which certainly were not inventions of the genealogers, themselves early writers after the scale of our literature, but were taken by them from poems of the same class with the *Theogony* or from ancient treatises or from prevalent opinions. But if we find them mentioning the Pelasgian nation, they do at all events belong to an age

<sup>34</sup> Another version made Arcas son of Zeus by Themisto. If the Arcadians considered themselves ‘Bears,’ descended from Arcas-Bear, it may well be that this was only a mere late pun

on the resemblance between Ἀρκάς and ἄρκτος, though the words were in origin not related. Thus the seal (φάκη) became the blazon of Phocaea, and the apple (μήλον) that of Melos.

when that name and people had nothing of the mystery which they bore in the eyes of the later Greeks, for instance of Strabo; and even though the Arcadians have been transformed into Hellenes, still a very distinct recollection might be retained of their affinity with the Thesprotians whose land contained the oracle of Dodona; as well as of that between these Epirotes and other races which is implied in the common descent of Maenalus, and the other Arcadians, and of Thesprotus, and Oenotrus from Pelasgus. Nor does this genealogy stand alone in calling the Oenotrians Pelasgians; evidence to the same effect, perfectly unexceptionable and as strictly historical as the case will admit of, is furnished by the fact that the serfs of the Italian Greeks, who must undoubtedly have been Oenotrians, were called Pelasgians' (Steph. Byz. v. *Νῆος*). This passage of Niebuhr anticipates several points with which I have to deal later on.

Niebuhr's estimate of the genealogies seems to me to be just, and we may without rashness believe that Arcadia and Argolis were the seats of an ancient race which played a foremost part in the early history of Greece. The kings of Tegea exercised great influence in Argolis. It is significant, as Curtius points out, to find Nauplius the founder of Nauplia, the port of Argolis being the servitor of the king of Tegea. When we come to deal with the Minyans we shall find Ancaeus king of Tegea one of the number in the memorable voyage of the *Argo*. Even still in Homer the Arcadians supply a quota of ships in excess of what we might have expected. All these considerations are of importance in showing that they had long been given to sea craft, a fact of significance when we come to deal with the character of the ornamentation on Mycenaean pottery. I am fully aware that certain modern writers discredit the Hesiodic account of the Arcadian origin of the Pelasgi. If we follow this line of doctrine, we simply declare that all early tradition is worthless. The Hesiodic genealogy is presumably a work of at least as early as the 7th century B.C. If it is argued that a genealogy compiled by one who presumably was a Boeotian is of no value, the answer is that unless Hesiod embodied some very ancient tradition of the pedigree of the sons of Pelasgus and Lycaon he certainly would not have made them so prominent in the ancestry of Hellas. For why should a Boeotian so glorify the Arcadians? It is certainly a case where the critics must be prepared to show motive. I feel certain that if the tradition was Arcadian or Peloponnesian instead of being derived from a Boeotian source, the critics would have at once cried out that it was a palpable invention of the Arcadians for purposes of self-glorification.

But it is useless to attack the Arcadian origin of the story without at the same time demolishing that embodied by Aeschylus, which connects Argolis with Pelasgians. It cannot be said that Aeschylus is slavishly following the Hesiodic story, for he says nothing about Arcadia. The modern sceptic will accordingly argue *ex silentio* and say that the Hesiodic version is false for Aeschylus knows nothing of it. My reply is that Aeschylus in his *Suppliants* and *Danaides* was not writing a handbook of historical geography, nor a monograph on the Pelasgians. Argos and its

history is the central point of his drama, and he accordingly alludes incidentally to its ancient inhabitants, the Pelasgi. There is nothing contradictory in the statements of Hesiod and Aeschylus; nor yet again are their statements disproved by the fact that there were Pelasgians in Thessaly and at Dodona in early days, nor by the fact that Herodotus does not say anything about Pelasgi in the Peloponnesus. Aeschylus, his elder contemporary, did know of Pelasgians in that region, and his knowledge of the history of Greece proper may be taken as at least as good as that of Herodotus the Asiatic. Again, because Herodotus knew of Pelasgians in his own time who dwelt on the Hellespont and at Creston, who spoke a language which was not Greek, this is no argument against the existence of this people at an earlier date all over Greece. It might as well be argued that because we find in parts of Great Britain, such as Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, and parts of Ireland people known as Celts and who speak a language which is certainly not English, no such people ever extended over all Great Britain and all Ireland, in the regions where English has been for centuries the only language. The Pelasgian language may have been as closely allied to Greek as Lycian and Phrygian, or as old Celtic or Umbrian and Oscan were to Latin, and yet Herodotus would call it a non-Greek tongue. Herodotus and Thucydides held that the Pelasgians had merged into the Hellenic body, a view attested by like occurrences in other countries, such as England, France, Spain, where the Welsh, Britons, and Basques, who have survived in the least inviting and most inaccessible parts of the countries, are living witnesses to the statements of history that they once occupied the whole land.

The cycle of the legends of Heracles and his wanderings—starting from Peloponnesus northwards slaying Centaurs in Thessaly, passing into Thrace and up to the Danube's sources into Northern Italy, on his cattle-lifting expedition into Spain—shows that the Greeks had a tradition not only of great early movements caused by the pressing down of fresh tribes from the north, but also of one still older in which the advance was from south to north.

As Heracles belongs to the prae-Achaean stock, being great-grandson of Perseus, the son of Danae, daughter of Acrisius, whose pedigree we already know, once more we get the tradition of an older stratum of occupants of the Peloponnesus, who were there before the Achaean conquest and who were called Pelasgians, substantiated by the legend of Heracles, the most prominent of Greek myths and which can in no wise be said to be invented to bolster up a Pelasgic theory started by Hesiod.

Let us now leave Peloponnesus for the present, but before doing so I must point out that if the objection is raised that no Mycenaean remains have been found at the city of Argos or in the district of Triphylia, where Pelasgians and Minyans dwelt, and therefore the connection between the Pelasgians and Mycenaean objects breaks down, the argument is equally fatal to the Achaeans who occupied both these regions.

I might urge with more force that as there have been as yet no Mycenaean objects found in the region called Achaia in historic times

in Peloponnesus, where the Achaeans maintained themselves after the Dorian conquest, therefore there can be no doubt of the non-Achaean nature of the Mycenaean civilization. But the argument drawn from negative evidence is unreliable in such cases especially: for the next turn of a peasant's spade may shatter the argument to atoms. Moreover it does not follow that the same race always remains in the same stage of art, and the Achaeans after the Dorian conquest may have been, and most likely were, in a very different condition from those of earlier times.

II. ATTICA.—We have now come to the most interesting district of all Hellas. It has revealed on the Acropolis remains of Cyclopean walls of a Mycenaean palace, and at Menidi, Spata, and Thoricus tombs of the Mycenaean period. As regards the history of Attica we are well informed by the writers of the fifth century B.C. Both Herodotus and Thucydides are clear on the origin of the Attic race. It is best to let the historians speak for themselves on this most important point.

First let us hear Herodotus: 'His (Croesus)' inquiries pointed out to him two states as pre-eminent above the rest. These were the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians, the former of Doric, the latter of Ionic blood. Indeed these two nations had held from very early times the most distinguished place in Greece, the one being a Pelasgic, the other a Hellenic people; the one never quitted its original seats, while the other had been excessively migratory; for during the reign of Deucalion, Phthiotis was the country in which the Hellenes dwelt, but under Dorus the son of Hellen they moved to the part at the base of Ossa and Olympus, which is called Histiaeotis; forced to retire from that region by the Cadmeians, they settled under the name of Macedni in the chain of Pindus. Hence they once more moved and came to Dryopis; from Dryopis having entered the Peloponnesus in this way they became known as Dorians. What the language of the Pelasgi was I cannot say with any certainty. If however we may form a conjecture from the tongue spoken by the Pelasgi of the present day,—those, for instance, who live at Creston above the Tyrrenians who formerly dwelt in the district named Thessaliois, and were neighbours of the people now called Dorians,—or those again who founded Placia and Seylace upon the Hellespont, who had previously dwelt for some time with the Athenians,—or those, in short, of any other of the cities which have dropped the name, but are in fact Pelasgian; if I say we are to form a conjecture from any of these, we must pronounce that the Pelasgi spoke a barbarous language. If this were really so, and the entire Pelasgic race spoke the same tongue, the Athenians, who were certainly Pelasgic, must have changed their language at the same time that they passed into the Hellenic body; for it is a certain fact that the people of Creston speak a language unlike any of their neighbours, and the same is true of the Placians, while the language spoken by these two peoples is the same; which shows that they both retained the idioms which they brought with them into the countries where they are now settled.

The Hellenic race has never since its first origin changed its speech. This at least seems evident to me. It was a branch of the Pelasgic which separated from the main body, and at first was scanty and of little power, but it gradually spread and increased to a multitude of nations chiefly by the voluntary entrance into its ranks of numerous tribes of barbarians. The Pelasgi on the other hand were, I think, a barbaric race which never greatly multiplied.<sup>35</sup>

There can be little doubt as regards the Pelasgic origin of the Athenians. Herodotus had resided at Athens and thus had the means of knowing the native traditions. As to whether the Pelasgian language belonged to a different linguistic stock from that of the Greek, it is impossible to determine. Niebuhr and Thirlwall think that Herodotus would have described as barbarous languages such as Illyrian and Thracian which are really cognates of Greek: Grote on the other hand maintains that Herodotus would not employ the term barbarous for any dialect of Greek. Thucydides is very explicit respecting the autochthonous character of the Attic population. After referring to the early state of Hellas, and mentioning the Pelasgians as important, he says: 'Attica at any rate having through the poverty of the soil been for the longest period free from factions was always inhabited by the same people.'<sup>36</sup>

Unless then we are prepared to maintain that both Herodotus and Thucydides are utterly untrustworthy, we must believe that the population of Attica had never shifted, and that its historical continuity was unbroken by either Achæan or Dorian occupation. Their statements get a singular confirmation from the tomb at Menidi, in the dromos of which was found a complete series of pottery fragments from Mycenaean down to Attic black and red vases. Once more we find Homer in no wise contradicting, but rather confirming the views set forth by the later writers. In the great host of Achæans that went to Troy the Athenians find little place or mention save in that one famous passage which tradition says was altered by Solon as a basis for a claim to Salamis.<sup>37</sup> Had Attica been in the hands of the Achæans we must have heard much more of the Athenians in the *Iliad*. Not only then are we led to conclude that the Mycenaean remains found in Attica are not of Achæan origin, but the evidence constrains us to call them Pelasgian.

The statements of Herodotus and Thucydides are substantiated by the legends of the Hellenes and of the Athenians. Hesiod gave the genealogy of the sons of Hellen in the form usually known, making Aeolus, Xuthus, and Dorus the three sons.

Respecting Xuthus our information is confined almost entirely to the

<sup>35</sup> Herod. i. 56-58 (Rawlinson's Trans.).

<sup>36</sup> i. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Dr. Leaf thinks B 553-556, ejected by Zenodotus, 'an addition to soothe the vanity of the Athenians, which was doubtless much hurt by the small part played by their nation in the

*Iliad*.' Leaf says their leader Menestheus 'does not afterwards appear as a distinguished general. Δ 326-348 Agamemnon speaks of him in unflattering terms. He is mentioned again only M 331, 373 N 196, 690 O 331 where the fighting is left to the heroes of the second rank.'

story of Creusa and Ion, an especially Attic legend. Achæus is represented as a son of Xuthus. Euripides deviates very naturally from the Hesiodic genealogy in respect to the eponymous persons. In the *Ion* he describes Ion as the son of Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, by Apollo, but adopted by Xuthus. According to him the real sons of Xuthus, an Achæan by race, the son of Aeolus, the son of Zeus, are Achæus and Dorus.<sup>38</sup> But in his *Melanippe* and *Aeolus* he mentions Hellen as father of Aeolus and son of Zeus.

This tradition, which is quite unattached to any form of the Pelasgian story, amply proves that there was an old race in Attica, before even Xuthus the valiant warrior was invited in to aid the Athenians against their enemies, and once more we find the Achæan captain marrying the daughter of the ancient prae-Achæan royal house.<sup>39</sup> But, more than this, Athenian tradition actually described as Pelasgian (or Pelargian) an ancient wall, probably that of which the remains have been found in modern times. Thus Herodotus relates that on the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes attacking Athens the tyrants withdrew into the Pelasgic wall, that is, the Acropolis.<sup>40</sup>

To have the name Pelasgian associated with their prae-historic remains is indeed remarkable, and as these remains are identical in character with those found at Mycenæ and Tiryns, in both of which we found that Greek tradition connected with the Pelasgic race the Cyclopean walls, we thus have a consensus of tradition in the case of all these places. The Pelasgians who are mentioned as having come to Attica from Samothrace, and who afterwards were expelled by the Athenians and went to Lemnos where they settled,<sup>41</sup> were most probably, as Niebuhr has well pointed out, a Pelasgic tribe who, driven from their old home, took refuge with their kinsmen in Attica, just as the Britons, when pressed hard by the Saxons, settled among their kindred in Armorica, from whom they had been separated for many centuries, and from whom they probably differed widely in speech. These Pelasgian new-comers soon became troublesome, and the Athenians expelled them.<sup>42</sup> The old Pelasgic walls of the Acropolis could easily be connected with them as the builders, as, according to Herodotus, the Athenians were merging into the Hellenic body at the time of these Pelasgians coming from Samothrace. They may be the same tribe as that which in the time of Thucydides under the name of Tyrrhenian Pelasgi dwelt near Mt. Athos. Such a confusion is natural and easily paralleled. There can be little doubt that the dark dolichocephalic people of the south and west of Ireland are of the same stock as the Iberians of Spain. From their appearance resembling that of the Spaniards, it is commonly believed in Ireland that they are of Spanish blood, but as the ordinary person knows nothing of ethnology, but is aware that at the time of the Spanish Armada Spanish ships and their crews were cast upon the Irish coast, it is popularly believed that these dark people are descended from the Spanish sailors, who as a matter of fact were killed immediately on

<sup>38</sup> Eur. *Ion*, 1520.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 64.

<sup>40</sup> v. 64.

<sup>41</sup> Herod. ii. 50.

<sup>42</sup> *Ib.* vi. 136.

landing by the natives, and had no opportunity of perpetuating their race on Irish soil. This brief examination of the early history of Athens points clearly to the non-Achaean origin of the remains of Mycenaean character found in Attica. It is not the object of this paper to write an exhaustive monograph on the Pelasgians, dealing with their origin and racial affinities. I am at present only concerned with them as the possible authors of certain objects, and I am no more obliged to discuss the question ethnologically than to go into all the questions of ethnology concerning the Celtic race in an essay dealing simply with the remains left by the ancient Britons. But as the Pelasgians of Lemnos were called Tyrrhenian, I must make a few remarks on the discovery of the now famous inscriptions found in that island in 1886, which are held by Pauli to be in a dialect of Etruscan, and from which he and Bugge simultaneously arrived at the conclusion that the Etruscans were Pelasgians. Granting that the inscriptions are Pelasgic, and not merely a tombstone set up by some Etruscan settler in Lemnos, a not unlikely explanation, we are very far from being in a condition to identify directly these Pelasgians who were settled at Athens and were afterwards expelled, and then settled at Lemnos, with the ancient Pelasgi of Greece proper. These are the Pelasgi whom Thucydides, who is one of our chief authorities for the ancient power of the Pelasgic stock, calls Tyrrheno-Pelasgians, and whom Herodotus probably means when he speaks of the Pelasgians who occupied the city of Creston above the Tyrrhenians.<sup>43</sup> Thucydides evidently marks a difference by describing them as *Tyrrhenian*, and not simply as Pelasgians.<sup>44</sup> We shall presently give good ancient evidence for Pelasgians in Etruria and Latium, as we have already had it for South Italy. There is no difficulty in supposing that certain Pelasgians long settled in Etruria, living side by side with Etruscans, may have emigrated from some internal or external cause and settled in various spots round the Northern Aegean, such as Samothrace and Creston and Mt. Athos, later on some of them went to Athens and later to Lemnos. Even if they spoke a language like the Etruscans, it is no evidence that the ancient Pelasgians spoke such a language. For the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians would probably have learned the language of their Etruscan neighbours and conquerors in Etruria, just as the Pelasgi of Greece proper gradually adopted the Hellenic speech, and as the Irish Celts have adopted English. But I will go further and grant for the sake of argument that the Pelasgi of Greece proper and Italy spoke a language akin to the Etruscans. It in no wise affects my position whether the Etruscans spoke a non-Aryan or an Aryan tongue. For the Pelasgians could learn the Hellenic language just as the Aquitani, the kinsmen of the modern Basques, who speak a non-Aryan tongue, could merge into a body of French-speaking population. If, as some still think, Etruscan was an Aryan speech, the merging of Pelasgians into Hellenism is all the more easy. But this supposed Etruscan connection after all rests on no solid basis, for Kirchhoff (*Studien*, pp. 54 *sqq.* 4th ed.) has demonstrated that the alphabet of the Lemnian

<sup>43</sup> ii. 52.<sup>44</sup> iv. 109.

inscriptions is Phrygian. If the inscriptions then belonged to the Pelasgians, it follows that they had a Phrygian connection and were certainly Aryan. The Greeks considered Phrygians and Thracians to be barbarians; so that because Herodotus thought the language of Scylace and Placia barbarous, it does not prove that it was not closely cognate to Greek.

III. and IV. BOEOTIA and THESSALY.—We now come to Boeotia and Thessaly, which can be treated together with greater convenience.

We shall first deal with Orchomenos known to Homer as the Minyan and as 'rich in gold,' in contrast to the Arcadian Orchomenos called 'rich in sheep.'

Our object is (1) to identify the Minyans of Orchomenos with the Minyans of Thessaly, (2) to prove both to be Pelasgians. Orchomenos derived its name from Orchomenos, son of Minyas, who was the son of Eteocles, who was the son of Andreus. The latter was said to have been the first occupant of this part of Boeotia, having come thither from Thessaly. He was one of the indigenous race of that region, for he was the son of the river Peneus.

The Minyan genealogy is thus connected with the coast of Thessaly between Iolcos and Peneus, the very district with which is indissolubly linked the history of the Minyae who appear as the first navigators from any part of Greece to the Euxine Sea. E. Curtius says: 'The race which in consequence of this life-bringing contact with the nations beyond the sea first issues forth with a history of its own from the dark background of the Pelasgian people is that of the Minyi.'<sup>45</sup>

The Minyae likewise appear in Peloponnesus. They dwelt in Triphylia, where they settled after driving out the Epeians, the original possessors, from a portion of their country. The Eleans in later days occupy another portion of this country. These Minyae we shall prove to be Pelasgians from Iolcus. That there was a close connection between the Minyae of Orchomenos and the Minyae of Iolcus is strengthened by the statements of Strabo that the Minyae of Iolcus were a colony from Orchomenos. Though this reverses the other story that the Minyans of Orchomenos came from Thessaly, it maintains the relationship between them. We have seen that the Minyae of Iolcus dwelt in the Pelasgic Argos, and were therefore probably a Pelasgian tribe. If we can prove them to be such, the proof will likewise hold good for the Minyae of Orchomenos. I have already mentioned Minyae who occupied six towns in Triphylia in the Peloponnesus, living beside the older tribe of the Epeians, and the later settled Eleans. According to Pausanias,<sup>46</sup> Neleus, the father of Nestor, conquered Pylus, having come with the Pelasgians from Iolcus! These can be no other than the Minyae of Iolcus, who probably under the pressure of Achaean advance had to leave their old homes in Pelasgic Argos. The fact that Nestor's mother was Chloris, a Minyan from Orchomenos in Boeotia, helps to confirm the identification of the Minyae of Orchomenos with those of Iolcus at the same time.

<sup>45</sup> vol. i. 87.

<sup>46</sup> Paus. iv. 36. 1.



We have now proved (1) the connection of the Minyans of Orchomenos in Boeotia (*a*) with the inhabitants of the Pelasgic Argos in Thessaly, (*b*) with the Minyans of Iolcus on the Pagasæan Gulf, the very district of the ancient Pelasgic Argos in which stands the tomb of Volo; (2) that these Minyans of Iolcus are Pelasgians, being so termed by Pausanias when he describes the settlement of Nelcus at Pylus, where later on we find the Minyæ with the Epeians and Eleans forming the three tribes which gave its name to Triphylia.

The Argo and her voyage are well known to the Homeric poet. She alone of all ships had escaped from Scylla and Charybdis.<sup>47</sup> Evenus, the son of Jason, whom Hypsipyle bore to him when the Argonauts touched at Lemnos, is reigning in that island at the time of the siege of Troy and is a wealthy trader, trafficking with the Phœnicians, with the Achæans, whom he supplied with wine, and with the Trojans.

From other sources we hear that the Argonauts went up the Black Sea to its Eastern end in their search for the Golden Fleece, which Strabo has well explained as arising from the practice in that region of collecting gold dust by placing fleeces across the beds of mountain torrents, to catch the particles of gold brought down by the stream.

The Argonauts mounted even the Caucasus, and heard the groans of Prometheus agonized in his adamantine bondage by the gnawings of the vulture. That early voyages were made in Mycenaean times to that region gets a curious piece of confirmation from the fact that the only gem of lapis lazuli (of known provenance) as yet found in Mycenaean graves is that discovered in the beehive tomb at Volo in Thessaly. If such gems had been found in Crete, Mycenæ, or Vaphio, we could say that they came from Egypt, but the fact of their absence in Southern Hellas, and the presence of one in Thessaly, points rather to direct trade with the only region which furnished the stone. For Persia supplied it all, until in modern times South America and Siberia have also furnished it.

Pelasgian Argos is mentioned by Homer and Strabo, as we have already seen; the latter tells us that it was the territory extending from the mouths of the river Peneus to Thermopylæ (in the Malian Gulf). This region was also known as Pelasgiotis.<sup>48</sup> It of course comprised within it the Pagasæan gulf, and Iolcus, so associated with the sailing of the Argo, and Mount Pelion, Jason's home, with timber from which the Argo was built.

On the Peneus lay the city of Larissa, the old Pelasgic capital, which still retains its name and pre-eminence. In Homer<sup>49</sup> the Pelasgi had been but recently driven out from it, among the allies of the Trojans are 'the tribes of the Pelasgians who used to dwell in Larissa and those who dwelt in Pelasgic Argos.' The Minyæ may then be regarded as one of the Pelasgic tribes. They are certainly not Achæan, for the pedigree of Jason shows no connection with Hellen and his sons. Down to the time of Perseus the Pelasgians are still in possession of this region, for he and his mother went there, when it was still known as Pelasgiotis.

<sup>47</sup> *Od.* xii. 69, 70

<sup>48</sup> *Apollod.* ii. 1, 1.

<sup>49</sup> *Il.* ii. 237.

It is important to notice that Hera is the goddess who takes special care of Jason and his Argonauts, and according to Callimachus (*Cer.* 26) Pelasgians planted in Dorian territory near Lake Boebis in Thessaly a grove in honour of Demeter, a fact which links this region with the Pelasgian Demeter of Argos, and with Phigaleia in Arcadia.

We have seen that Andreus, the founder of the Orchomenos dynasty, came from the Peneus, so the Pelasgic origin of the Minyans of Orchomenos might be assumed from that circumstance alone. But there are other points. The name Minyan itself links them with the Minyans of Iolcus, the name Orchomenos with the Pelasgians of Orchomenos in Arcadia, who in turn are closely connected with the Minyae of Thessaly. For Ancaeus, king of Tegea, is one of the crew of the Argo. Again Orchomenos in Boeotia was a member of that ancient amphictyony which met for the worship of Poseidon in the island of Calauria, of which Nauplia was also a member as well as Athens. Finally Orchomenos was the seat of a most ancient cultus of the Charites.

Now Herodotus<sup>50</sup> believed that Hera, Themis, and the Charites were purely Pelasgian deities. The existence then of an immemorial faue of the Charites at Orchomenos stamps the Minyans as Pelasgian.

V. TROAD and AEOLID.—The Dorians had never any settlement in the north-western corner of Asia Minor: Byzantium on the European side was their nearest settlement. The Achaeans do not appear to have made any settlements in the Troad, for the towns in this region such as Scepsis and Dardania in historical times are ante-Achaean in their coin types. Their local heroes are Hector and Aeneas, not Achilles or Agamemnon. On the other hand there are many traces of close connection between this region and the Pelasgi of Greece proper. Dardanus himself one of the chief heroes of the Troad according to tradition came from Arcadia. Virgil makes him come from Samothrace the Pelasgian island. Hence Niebuhr conjectured that the Teucrians and Dardanians, Troy and Hector are perhaps to be regarded as Pelasgian. On the Hellespont two Pelasgian towns were still extant in the days of Herodotus, Placia and Scylace.<sup>51</sup> Cyzicus was theirs until the Milesians made themselves masters of it;<sup>52</sup> and the Macrians, a race of their stock, dwelt on the other side of the same island on the coast facing the Bosphorus.

The legends also indicate constant intercourse between Peloponnesus and this part of Asia. When Ancaeus the king of Tegea, infuriated with his daughter Auge because of her *liaison* with Heracles, gave her to Nauplius, the latter took her to Mysia and sold her to king Teuthras, and there she became the mother of Telephus.

According to Pausanias (vii. 4, 6) a body of Arcadians crossed with Telephus into Asia.

Eurypylus the son of Telephus was an ally of the Trojans, and his territory in the vicinity of Thebe, Lyrnessus and Pedasus was ravaged by

<sup>50</sup> ii. 50.

<sup>51</sup> i. 57.

<sup>52</sup> Schol. ad Apoll. Rh. i. 987. Cf. *ib.* 948.

the Achaeans.<sup>53</sup> This shows that there was Pelasgic blood in the Troad. On the other hand Pelops came to Peloponnesus from Phrygia. The Mycenaean remains found at Titane may well be the outcome of the Pelasgic population which dwelt there and all around.

The island of Lesbos, which has ever been so closely connected with the Aeolid, was actually called Pelasgic, as we saw above. It was captured by the Achaeans during the siege of Troy, and seven of the Lesbian women who fell to the share of Agamemnon formed part of the gifts offered by him to Achilles.

VI. THERA.—This island was colonized by the Minyans of Orchomenos according to the well-known story told by Herodotus.<sup>54</sup> It was colonized later by Dorians, but as we have on other grounds found it impossible to regard the Dorians as the creators of Mycenaean remains, it follows that the pottery of that kind found in Thera must be ascribed to the older Minyan settlers. But as we have already shown that the Minyae were Pelasgians, it follows that the Theracan pottery of the Mycenaean type is the work of Pelasgians.

VII. CYPRUS.—That there was a close connection between the main body of Greek settlers in Cyprus and the Pelasgians of Arcadia is evidenced most clearly by the fact that the Cypriote and Arcadian dialects are so closely connected as to be treated together in works on Greek Dialects and Inscriptions. At Curium the excavations of Mr. H. B. Walters have revealed Mycenaean remains of various kinds. Strabo (683) says that 'Curium was founded by Argives.' This is of great importance for it indicates that the Mycenaean culture entered Cyprus not from the east but from the mainland of Hellas and from the great ancient seat of the Pelasgi. The fact that a scarab of Dynasty XXVI. was found with the Mycenaean remains (for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Walters' kindness) shows how in certain places the Mycenaean culture continued without a break into classical times, but it in no wise proves that it *began* in late times.<sup>55a</sup>

VIII. EGYPT.—I have already mentioned the legend of Danaus and Aegyptus, descended from Io's Zeus-begotten son Epaphus, who was destined to settle at the mouth of the Nile according to the prophecy of Prometheus. This prophecy put by Aeschylus in the mouth of Prometheus no doubt embodies an ancient tradition of emigrants from Argolis settling in the Delta.

I have already proved the Pelasgian nationality of Io, and her descendants who returned to Argos.

IX. RHODES.—The same story of Danaus also connects Rhodes with very early Pelasgic occupation. For Danaus is said to have settled for a

<sup>53</sup> *Od.* xviii. 518. Cf. Strabo xiii. 1.

<sup>54</sup> *iv.* 146 *seqq.*

<sup>55a</sup> These Argives were not Dorians, for

inscriptions found at Curium prove the dialect not Doric but common Cypriote Aeolic.

while in Rhodes on his way from Egypt to Argos, and the very archaic statue of Athene at Lindus was said to have been set up by him. The three towns of Ialysus, Cameirus, and Lindus are mentioned in Homer, where their settlement is ascribed to a son of Heracles who led a number of his mother's people (not Dorians) from the river Selleis to Rhodes.

X. CRETE.—I have already given the lines of Homer which enumerate the races that inhabited Crete, amongst whom are the divine Pelasgi. According to one reading they occupied Cnossus. But the Mycenaean remains there can be much more certainly connected with Pelasgic workmanship. Daedalus according to Homer made 'a dancing place for Ariadne at Cnossus'; according to the later legends he built the Labyrinth for her father Minos, who had got the famous artificer to come from Athens. We have proved the Athenians to be Pelasgians, and accordingly the patron saint of Greek plastic art is a Pelasgian. Once more a Mycenaean palace is shown to be ascribed in Greek legend to a Pelasgic builder.

Before leaving the area of Greece proper and the Aegean Sea, it is right that I should point out the localities which ancient statements declare to have been once occupied by Pelasgian tribes, but in which no objects of the Mycenaean type have as yet been recognized. Epirus has not yet yielded any such, nor have Lesbos, Chios, Imbros, Samothrace, Lemnos, Scyros, Sciathus. On the other hand Mycenaean remains have been found in Paros, Amorgos, Ios, Therasia, Naxos, Melos, in none of which can I definitely prove as yet Pelasgic settlements, but their Ionic populations in several cases, and the fact of contiguous islands having been occupied by Pelasgians make it probable that in all cases this people had been the early inhabitants.

XI. ITALY.—I have spoken of the remains of Mycenaean character being found in Etruria, Latium, and in the region occupied by the Iapyges. That the Pelasgians occupied some part of Etruria and Latium is assured by the best Roman authorities. Thus Servius (ad Verg. ii. 83) asserts that the Pelasgi formerly lived in Etruria and Latium. Strabo (219) tells us that Caere, originally called Agylla, was a Pelasgian town, captured by Etruscans. The Greek affinity of Caere is proved by the story of the pollution arising from the massacre of Phloceus (Herod. i. 167).

In the Pelasgic origin of the Oenotrians we have already given the statement of Pherecydes quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. For the presence of the Pelasgi in South Italy I have also quoted the evidence of Stephanus Byzantius, who asserts that the serfs of the Greeks were called Pelasgi.

The historical evidence is thus complementary of the actual remains of bronze work in Etruria, Cyclopean buildings in Latium (Signia), and pottery in Iapygia.

At the same time I must point out that there were Achæan colonies in Southern Italy, and that there are various legends of Achæan heroes

coming to Italy after the return from Troy, Diomedes, Philoctetes, and others.

Mycenean pottery has been found in Sicily. The proximity of the island to Southern Italy and the fact that we hear of the peoples who occupied the mainland of Italy regularly also occupying the other side of the Straits makes it probable that the Pelasgi of South Italy had settlements on the Sicilian side of the channel likewise. It is remarkable that it is in relation to the voyage of the *Argo* and her Minyan crew that we first hear of the Strait and Scylla and Charybdis in that passage of the *Odyssey* already quoted. That a knowledge of this region is ascribed to the Pelasgians of Greece proper in Homeric times is indeed significant.

Let us now sum up our results. We have found historical or legendary evidence for Pelasgic occupation of all the chief parts in Greece proper, and the islands, and Egypt and Italy, where Mycenean objects have been found. In certain places of great importance, such as Attica and Orchomenos, we find these remains where the ancient historians declare there were no Achaean settlements. Arcadia, which was always a pure Pelasgic country, has already yielded minor Mycenean evidence, and the ancient evidence from Homer and Pausanias shows us the tomb of ancient kings closely resembling that found on the Acropolis of Mycenae. At Mycenae itself the accounts with every temptation to refer everything to the Achaean period declare the walls and Lion gate to be built by those who built Tiryns for Proetus whilst the Cyclopean remains of Attica are directly ascribed to the Pelasgians; and the Mycenean building at Cnossus in Crete is connected with Daedalus the Pelasgian from Athens. In Thessaly the beehive tomb of Volo is situated in the very region known as the land of the Pelasgians. The evidence for the Troad was against Achaean occupation and in favour of Pelasgian. Thera, Rhodes, and Egypt have Pelasgian, but no Achaean traditions. Cyprus had an early settlement from Salamis, led by Teucer, but the language links the main part of the Greek population with the purely Pelasgian Arcadia, and Strabo ascribes the founding of Curium, where Mycenean remains have been found, to settlers from Argos who were not Dorians but prae-Dorians. There are Achaeans in Crete as well as Pelasgians but, as already pointed out, very early buildings at Cnossus are connected with Daedalus the Athenian.

As far as I can judge, the balance of ancient tradition is largely on the side of a Pelasgian origin for the Mycenean civilization, and against an Achaean.

Our second condition is a people who used a pictographic script in the Peloponnesus, Attica, and Crete, closely connected with the Cypriote syllabary, and the characters found on the so-called Hittite seals and monuments of Asia Minor.

Homer in one famous and oft-quoted passage refers to some form of writing. It is in the story of the Temptation of Bellerophon.

Sthenoboea, wife of king Proetus, having failed to beguile Bellerophon, falsely accused him (as Potiphar's wife did Joseph) to her husband.

Proetus shrunk from the pollution of killing him and sent him with a letter to his father-in-law the king of Lycia.<sup>55</sup>

Proetus, as we have already seen, was the Pelasgian king of Tiryns. He writes a letter in Argolis which can be read in Lycia by his father-in-law. This king Proetus is a Pelasgian and is dwelling in Argolis at Tiryns before the Achaean conquest of that country. Homer is thus our witness for the existence of a kind of writing in Peloponnesus before the Achaean conquest. That the *σήματα λυγρά* were most probably some form of pictograph, as supposed by Dr. Leaf and Mr. A. J. Evans, is highly probable. It has been held that

(1) *σήματα λυγρά* do not refer to any kind of writing, but are identical with *σήμα* of l. 176, and mean letter of introduction, the plural being used for the singular under the exigency of the metre. I maintain that the plural *σήματα* can only be used = a document, because the document is conceived as made up of a number of individual symbols, just as the Lat. *litterae* = an epistle, because it is composed of many individual *litterae* (letters of the alphabet). I shall take the case of *γράμμα* (in reference to writing, not painting). *γράμμα* = (1) a scratch or letter of the alphabet; (2) the plural *γράμματα* = a document, as being made up of *γράμματα* (letters of the alphabet, just as Lat. *litterae* = epistle); (3) *γράμμα* used as a collective noun = a document. Now, when we meet *τὰ γράμματα*, clearly meaning a single document, in Herodotus or other prose writers, we do not consider it the plural of *τὸ γράμμα* = documents, the plural being used for singular under the exigency of metre, but as the plural of *τὸ γράμμα* = letter of the alphabet.

*σήμα* in Homer means (1) any kind of mark; (2) *σήματα* (plural) = a document; (3) *σήμα* (l. 176) used as a collective noun = a document. Of what is *σήματα* (l. 168) the plural? Unquestionably of *σήμα* = a single mark. If *σήματα*, then, = a document, it does so exactly in the same way as *τὰ γράμματα* and *litterae* have that meaning. But this presupposes the existence of a number of separate symbols; which, in the case of *σήματα λυγρά*, must be either pictographic or alphabetic.

Exigency of metre can hardly be called into service in the case of *σήματα λυγρά*. The poet would not have had any difficulty in finding an adjective which would have fitted the end of the hexameter and enabled him to use *σήμα* in the singular.

To quote *δώματα* and *μέγαρα* as cases of the use of plural for singular is useless. *δώματα* can be used = a house, on the very same principle on which *γράμματα* = a document. A house is an aggregate of chambers, the original house being but a single chamber. The same principle is seen in *οἰκία*, the well-known use of *οἶκοι* and *δόμοι* in tragedy, and in Lat. *aeedes* = a dwelling-house, the singular being always kept for the house of a god (originally a single room). What we want are examples of other nouns,

<sup>55</sup> *Il.* vi. 168-70.

such as *βοῦς*, *ἵππος*, *βασιλεύς*, the plurals of which can be used to denote a single individual of the class. Metrically this would have often been convenient; but does it ever occur? It cannot be said that in the case of neuters such a use of plural for singular is permitted, for *οἴκοι* and *αἶδες* evince the contrary.

(2) If *σήματα* of *Il.* vi. 168 mean some kind of writing, as has been held by the scholars, these *σήματα* represent either pictographs or alphabetic symbols. I maintain that the use of *σήμα*, whenever it is found in connection with writing—as in the cases of the oldest inscribed Greek coin, the seal of Thyrsis, the shields of the heroes in Aeschylus, where it always refers to pictorial representation as contrasted with *γράμματα* = alphabetic symbols—makes it probable that the *σήματα* *λυγρά* were pictographic rather than alphabetic.

To argue that *γράφας* implies that the writing was alphabetic, not pictographic, involves a familiar fallacy. *γράμμα* is unknown to Homer. The fact that it is employed to denote the Phoenician alphabet shows that *σήμα* was already connected with a different system. The new term *γράμματα* was used for the new kind of characters. The legend which ascribes to Palamedes the son of Nauplius the invention of writing is after all probably right. For it is now proved that there was in Greece a system of writing before the introduction of the Phoenician alphabet. Just as Proetus who wrote a letter to Lycia is a Pelasgian of Argolis, so Palamedes the inventor of an ancient system of writing is also a Pelasgian from Nauplia in Argolis. Thus these pictographs have been found in Attica where there were never Achaeans, and writing is imputed to Proetus at Tiryns before any Achaeans had come there. These facts taken together are in favour of such writing being Pelasgian, but as it is found on Mycenaean objects therefore the Mycenaean civilization is Pelasgian.

(3) What is the relation between the Mycenaean civilization and that depicted in Homer?

That there is a close resemblance between the stage of culture represented in the Homeric poems and that revealed in the tombs of Mycenae and the palace of Tiryns, no one can doubt. But nevertheless there are several points of difference which have troubled those who hold that the Mycenaean civilization is purely Achaean. For instance the different methods of burial and the use of iron freely in the one and almost unknown in the other.

BURIAL.—In Homer the dead are always cremated. On the other hand the people of the Mycenaean age buried the body intact, possibly employing some kind of embalming. It has been sought to minimize this difficulty by pointing out that the Athenians continued to practice burial and not cremation down to the 6th cent. B.C., as proved by the evidence derived from the the Dipylon cemetery.<sup>56</sup> But, as I have shown repeatedly, the Athenians are

<sup>56</sup> Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 296.

not Achaeans, but Pelasgians. The evidence, therefore, of the Dipylon cemetery goes to show that the Pelasgians did not practise cremation until quite late, when they had already merged into the Hellenic body. The inference from this is that the Myceneans were Pelasgians, and not Achaeans.

IRON.—No iron has been found in the graves on the Acropolis of Mycenae, and in the lower city no objects of this material except two finger rings have been found.<sup>57</sup>

In Homer on the other hand though we hear much of bronze (*χαλκός*) nevertheless we meet with the Iron Age fully developed. Chalkos is mentioned much more frequently than iron, but this is just one of those cases where the statistical method has misled Homeric scholars. Chalkos is the older word for the metal of which weapons were made, and it thus lingered in many phrases; to smite with the chalkos was equivalent to our phrase 'to smite with the steel.'<sup>58</sup>

*Chalkeion* and *chalkeus* continued to be the terms employed for *blacksmith* and *forge* through all classical Greek Literature, when beyond all doubt the chief metal worked by the *chalkeus* was iron. But a few passages from Homeric poems will put the matter beyond question. Axes both double and single were made of iron. Those given as prizes for archery by Achilles are of this metal.<sup>59</sup> It was in such common use as to be employed for the fittings of the plough.<sup>60</sup> For Achilles declares that the winner of the mass of natural iron (*κόλος αὐτοχόωνος*) will be well supplied for the wants of his ploughman and shepherd, nor will they want to go to a town to procure iron. Arrow-heads (*Δ* 123), maces (*H* 141), and knives (*Σ* 34) were of iron. Finally the weapons that hung on the walls of the megaron of Odysseus' house were of iron. They are to be removed because, 'iron of itself doth attract a man.'<sup>61</sup>

If it is said that the Achaean poet writing at a later age introduces the practice of his own time into the life of the earlier Achaeans, we must remember that the Greek settlements in Asia and Italy, which are certainly unknown to the Homeric poet or poets, cannot be brought down much lower than 1000 B.C. If, on the other hand, we suppose that the Achaeans represent the van of those peoples who spread in various directions from Central Europe, bringing with them in every case iron, the question is easily disposed of. Their success in overmastering the older race may well have been due to superiority of weapons.

The fact that only two rings of iron have been found at Mycenae shows that iron was still very scarce, and probably used for finger rings because of its magical properties. Magnetic iron early attracted the notice of the Greeks, and the fact that the mere beating of a piece of iron rendered it magnetic always made this metal an object of superstition. The line of the

<sup>57</sup> Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* 226.

<sup>58</sup> cf. Schol. Ven. B in *Il.* xix. 283, p. 525.

<sup>59</sup> *Il.* xxiii. 850.

<sup>60</sup> *Il.* xxiii. 826.

<sup>61</sup> *Od.* xvi. 291.



*Odyssey* just quoted, wherein iron is said to attract a man of itself, probably refers to this very property:—

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.

Of course we hear much in Homer of bronze armour (χάλκεια τεύχεα), but bronze continues to be used for defensive armour long after iron has replaced it for *cutting* weapons. Though the modern fireman uses a steel axe, he wears a brass helmet, and the French dragoon a brass cuirass. The Philistines of the Old Testament are in the same stage as the Homeric Achaeans. Goliath wears a helmet, and breastplate of brass, but carries a spear of iron.

FIBULAE.—In Homer the garments are regularly fastened on with brooches (περόναι). The Acropolis graves of Mycenae on the other hand furnish no brooches. This is a marked contrast, and it cannot be got over by the fact that three fibulae have been found in the later graves of the lower city.<sup>62</sup> I have before called attention to the fact that the beehive tomb near the Heraeum shows evidence of having been used for burial down to classical times. It is thus perfectly natural to find such sporadic appearances of brooches in graves of the Mycenaean period, they may have been of even the same period as the Mycenaean remains buried along with the women of another race, who continued wearing their national brooch. The absence of brooches marks an earlier stage in dress, when the garments were probably ‘tied on.’ Thus in the older pile dwellings of Switzerland and in the bronze age of Ireland brooches with pins are unknown.

SIGNET GEMS.—Pliny<sup>63</sup> remarked on the complete absence of any mention of signets in Homer. This is a very remarkable fact, for there are many passages where we should naturally expect to find mention of signets such as the fastening and unfastening of doors of the treasure chambers; and in the passage relating the sending of the letter Proetus scratched the characters on a tablet, but we are not told that he sealed it, though some have hastily assumed that this must have been the case. The men of the Mycenaean tombs used engraved gems very freely, either as amulets or signets or as both combined. We hear of jewellery and all kinds of ornaments in Homer, but of no kind of stone or other substance used for setting, except amber, a substance too brittle for engraving on, but which can be bored for beads with the greatest ease by primitive men, such as the lake dwellers of Switzerland and the Po valley, and the Angles and Saxons, who could not work hard stones. The Mycenaean people could use green jasper, cornelian, serpentine, sardonyx, lapis lazuli for their engraved gems. If the Homeric poet knew of such it is strange that he does not mention them anywhere. If he was a late writer putting the habits of his own age into an earlier time, the only way of getting over the difficulty about iron, we should find him doubtless alluding to such a use of engraved stones or signets, for it is

<sup>62</sup> Schuchhardt, 122, 351.

<sup>63</sup> *H. N.* xxxiii. 12.

certain that the practice of using seals was one that grew more and more as we get to classical times, and that at no time in the Hellenic period did it tend to fall into desuetude. It is certainly interesting to find the art of gem engraving especially flourishing in regions where the Pelasgic race was dominant. Theodorus and Mnesarchus of Samos are the two names of engravers which reach us from the sixth century B.C. Cyprus has supplied many gems of fine Greek art of the best period, and the engravers of Magna Graecia were the most eminent in Hellas. A series of Etruscan scarabs engraved in Greek style is well known. Are these the work of the same race which had its settlements in Etruria from a remote period?

Any one who takes a sober view of the matter will find it hard to reconcile the existence of the large and important series of gems, whether they were used as amulets suspended to necklaces, as some of those found at Vaphio, or used as signets, with the complete absence of any allusion to such objects in the Homeric poems.

**SHIELDS.**—The shields portrayed on Mycenaean works of art are of one type, and that a type not found in classical Greece. It is bipartite, consisting of two circular discs touching one another, something like a figure 8. Dr. Reichel has sought to identify this with the shield of the Homeric poems.<sup>64</sup> The *Aspis* of the poems is regularly described as *πάντοσ' εἴση*, 'equal in every direction,' *κυκλοτερής*, *εὐκυκλος*, 'circular,' *ὀμφαλόεσσα*, 'having a boss.' Reichel thinks that *κυκλοτερής* means the Mycenaean shield formed of two circles placed side by side. Even supposing that *κυκλοτερής* could have this meaning, which in any case is rather forced, how can *πάντοσ' εἴση* and *εὐκυκλος* mean any other than a circular shield? Moreover, a simile referring to the shield of Achilles loses its appropriateness unless the shield was round:—

*τοῦ δὲ σέλας γένετ' ἥντε μήνης.*

In the other passage, where *μήνη* is used similarly in a comparison, regard is had to the *σῆμα* as well as the colour of the objects compared. It is a mark on a horse's forehead:—

*λευκὸν σῆμ' ἐτέτυκτο περίτροχον ἥντε μήνη.*

It is, therefore, more likely that the poet had a circular shield in his mind rather than one of the peculiar Mycenaean shape. Homer does not tell us the shape of the shield of Ajax, the son of Telamon; he only says it is like a tower, which may refer simply to its strength.<sup>65</sup> It was the work of Tychius of Arne in Boeotia. Chalcus, the son of Athamas of Orchomenos, was the inventor of a shield, and Tychius kept up the tradition for such a manufacture. Now the traditional shield of Ajax placed on the coins of Salamis at a late period is a Boeotian shield, so familiar on Boeotian coins, and which Mr. A. J. Evans thinks is derived from the Mycenaean type. If this be so, it is

<sup>64</sup> *Homerische Waffen*, p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> *Il.* iv. 142.

remarkable to find such a connection existing between the shield invented by the Minyans of Orchomenos and the Mycenaean. Of course, to make the argument really cogent, we ought to be able to show what was the shape of the shield invented by Chalcus. The people of Salamis may very well have made the shield of Ajax as seen on the coins of Boeotia, because of Homer's statement that it was made by a Boeotian.

On the other hand, the Locrians represent the shield of Ajax on their coins as the usual round Greek shield. If we could rely upon this as a true tradition, it would show that the Achaean shield was round. But I do not think that any one who was not carried away by a desire to fit on the Homeric descriptions exactly to every detail of the objects found at Mycenae would have even thought of regarding the Homeric shield as other than circular. If I am right in maintaining the views of the older scholars, there is then an important difference in the shield of the Homeric Achaeans and the Mycenaean. It is just one of those differences in arms which we find existing among people not far different from each other in other respects. Though we have no statement in Homer respecting the shields used by the Pelasgians, we are told the nature of their offensive weapons. The epithet *ἐγχεσίμωρος* (whatever may be the etymology of its last part) means fighting with spears, as contrasted with *λόμωρος*, 'fighting with arrows.' The same epithet (*ἐγχεσίμωρος*) is applied to the Arcadians by Nestor, when he recounts one of the great exploits of his early days, probably when the conquest of Pylus was still hardly complete.

It would be a difficulty to the Pelasgian origin of the Mycenaean art if we found a serious discrepancy between the arms of the warriors seen on Mycenaean pottery and those ascribed to the Pelasgians in Homer. But this difficulty does not exist. On the contrary the Mycenaean warriors seen marching in procession on the well-known fragments from the Acropolis of Mycenae (Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 133) are armed with long spears.

GREAVES.—The Achaeans of Homer wear greaves of bronze. They are called *χαλκοκνήμιδες* as well as *ἐνκνήμιδες*. No greaves have been found at Mycenae.

THORAX.—The Achaeans of Homer wear the breastplate (*θώραξ*), but no breastplate has been found in Mycenaean graves. Reichel has to regard the lines which make the Achaeans wear greaves and breastplate as later interpolations. Where he thinks *θώραξ* is found in older stratum, he takes it to mean *armour* collectively not shield—an assumption that cannot be justified by the arguments. Reichel cuts out as later additions the lines which contain the epithet *χαλκοκνήμιδες* and maintains that the Achaeans merely wore woollen gaiters to protect their shins from the knocks of the shield. If the Homeric warrior had neither bronze breastplate nor bronze greaves, it is hard to understand how his armour rattled when he fell—

δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ὠράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

HAIR.—The fashion of wearing the hair is one of the chief distinctions between races and tribes in modern times, and it was just as important in early Greece. The Achaeans of the Homeric poems prided themselves on their long hair, calling themselves *κάρη κομόωντες*, as distinguished from other peoples such as the Abantes of Euboea, who had their hair only long behind (*ὄπιθεν κομόωντες*),<sup>66</sup> and from the Thracians who wore their hair in a high tuft on the top of the head (*ἀκρόκομοι*).<sup>67</sup> The wearing of the hair in such tufts was regarded by the Achaeans with contempt. Thus Diomedes when wounded by Paris alludes contemptuously to his coil of hair like a horn—

*τοξότα, λωβητῆρ κέρα ἄγλαε παρθενοπίπα.*

Virgil (xii. 100) alludes to this as a Phrygian custom. There is certainly no reference to any such fashion on the part of any Achæan hero in Homer. Furthermore, when the opportunity for such reference occurs, we find the hair represented as streaming from down the head entirely unrestrained, as in the case of Odysseus.<sup>68</sup>

The Mycenaean warriors on the vase-fragments already quoted wear their hair in a kind of chignon or roll, and on another vessel, ornamented with men's heads, three curls hang down behind. This is not the practice of the Achæans, and to call such figures Achæan is erroneous. Such a fashion of wearing the hair was known in one part of Greece in the historical period. Thucydides tells that down nearly to his own time the nobles at Athens continued on account of their effeminacy to wear linen tunics and to wear their hair long and tied up in a knot (*κρωβύλος*) fastened with a clasp of golden grasshoppers.<sup>69</sup> This *krobulos* seems to be the same as the knot of the Mycenaean warrior. If the Athenians were originally Achæans, when did they begin the effeminate practice which they abandon in the fifth century? On the other hand if they are Pelasgians, as stated by Herodotus and Thucydides, the fashion of wearing the hair in a bunch had survived among the Athenian Pelasgi when it had already perished in the parts of Greece which had come under Achæan and Dorian influence. This fashion being non-Achæan and Pelasgian, we are led to conclude that the warriors on the Mycenaean vase are not Achæans, but Pelasgians.

POTTERY.—Homer gives us a picture of the potter at work in one of the scenes on the shield. If the Achæans were the makers of the fine lustrous Mycenaean ware with its decorations of marine plants and animals, and its rows of marching warriors, we might expect some reference to this art of

Helbig in his *Homcrische Epos* are taken from Mycenaean objects. If the Homeric culture is that of the Mycenaean age, we ought to find a much greater proportion.

A survey will give us the following results :—

(1) That there was in Greece an ancient people of great importance called Pelasgi.

(2) That a class of remains are spread over a wide area, not only in Hellas proper, but in Asia Minor, Egypt, Rhodes, Thera, Crete, Italy, and Sicily. In all those regions we have been able to show Greek tradition for the occupation of the spot by Pelasgians. In Attica, Arcadia, Orchomenos, Thera and Egypt we either had distinct statements by the historians that there never was any Achaean occupation (as in Attica and Arcadia) or complete silence as to any such.

(3) In the region of Argolis, especially connected with the Achaeans, we had distinct evidence that the great cities of Mycenae and Tiryns, with its port of Nauplia, were occupied by the race called Pelasgians, and that the Achaeans had only occupied them at a short period before the time represented in Homer.

(4) That there is complete evidence from the ancients to show that the walls and gateway of Mycenae and the buildings of Tiryns, were built by the Pelasgians.

(5) That from Homer it is probable that the Palace of Menelaus at Sparta (one of the three cities so dear to the Pelasgian Hera) was the residence of the older kings of the Pelasgic race.

(6) That the sumptuous palace of Alcinoos, the city of the Phaeacians built with 'dragged stones,' and the highest skill in ships are ascribed by Homer to a non-Achaean people, who had been driven from their ancient home, which was probably in Italy, because they had been harassed by the Cyclopes.

(7) That the prae-historic walls at Athens were called Pelasgic by the Athenians.

(8) That the prae-historic building at Cnossus in Crete is connected with Daedalus, the Athenian, and therefore Pelasgian, craftsman.

(9) That the art of writing when mentioned by Homer is connected with Proetus, the Pelasgic king of Tiryns.

(10) That this writing could be understood in Lycia at a time when as yet there was not a single Greek colony on the seaboard of Asia Minor.

(11) That symbols have been found on gems from Crete, Peloponnesus, and on vessels from Peloponnesus and Attica resembling those found in Asia Minor and called Hittite.

(12) That the legends show contact between the mainland of Greece and the east in three quarters: (1) Egypt (Io and Danaus), (2) Lycia (Cyclopes and Bellerophon), (3) north-west end of Asia Minor (Argonauts, Telephus and Pelops), the Egyptian being the oldest, the north-west Asiatic the latest in order. The legends show no contact between Peloponnesus and Phoenicia, such as we find in Homer in the Achæan age.

(13) That there are serious discrepancies between the civilization of the Homeric poems and that of the Mycenean age.

If we then adopt the view that the Pelasgic race was the creator of the Mycenean art, and that it yielded before the superior valour and probably weapons of a race not far removed in kinship from themselves, but who were inferior in numbers and civilization to the conquered, we shall be simply carrying out the view held by Thucydides. The conquerors were proud of their connection with the older race, into those families they had married, just as Ataulphus, the Visigoth, married the sister of Honorius, and spake of the *divine* Pelasgians, just as the Franks and Visigoths were proud to call themselves Romans and Caesars.

If this view is correct, we ought to find in the Aeolic dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus the closest approximation to the language spoken by this ancient race.

This view has the advantage of getting complete harmony between the archaeological remains, the Homeric poems and the traditions of the Greek historians; even the latest portions of Homer know nothing of Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, Italy, or Africa, the use of coined money, signets, the Phoenician alphabet, or the free buying and selling of land. No restoration of an antique vase can be satisfactory which calls for the rejection or breaking in smaller pieces of refractory fragments. We have seen the straits to which the maintainers of the Achæan theory have been reduced, having to deny the existence of the Pelasgians in Peloponnesus, and at the same time to mutilate the Homeric poems, and even then to ignore the vital difference between the Bronze and Iron ages. On the other hand, those who maintain that the Dorians (notorious in classical times for their want of art) are the authors of the Mycenean remains must not only deny the Dorian invasion, a fact attested by Pindar, Thucydides, Ephorus, and the consensus of Greek tradition, but they must also sweep away all historical value from the Homeric poems, which, though they know of Dorians elsewhere, do not mention them as being in Peloponnesus, but, on the contrary, tell us that the Achæans are in possession of Argolis and Laconia. But if the Homeric poems represent an age and culture which never existed except in poetic fancy, then all discussion is at an end.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN ITALY DURING THE LAST EIGHT YEARS.\*

EIGHT years ago, I had the honour of speaking at the Philologists' Convention at Zürich on the methods aims and materials of archaeological research in Italy.<sup>1</sup> A summary of work, both prospective and retrospective was then not inappropriate, for we stood at a point of transition. With the altered constitution of the *Archäologisches Institut*, the death of Henzen and the retirement of Helbig one epoch had come to an end, and we had reason to suppose that the new period would present many features of difference.

Until the unification of Italy there could be no question of a thorough scientific and consistent investigation of the country. Even the *Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, the only scientific body whose activity was not confined within the bounds of a single state, found itself so hampered by want of means and the hindrances arising from the bad condition of communications, that all it could do was to contribute a meagre report of discoveries made in the limited area including Rome itself, Southern Etruria, where excavations were undertaken by the Papal government and private persons, and Pompeii, where under the Naples government work was slowly proceeding. In other districts excavation either fell entirely into neglect or took the form of secret and irresponsible plunder. As to the remains still above ground, they were published and edited (with the exception of those in Rome and Sicily) unsystematically and in the most heterogeneous form. What we now call the *Statistic of monuments* was then unknown.

As a natural consequence of this state of affairs, the principal task of the *Archäologisches Institut*, after the preparation of those incomplete but, in many of their details, admirable reports to which I have referred, was the publication and discussion of single works of art attainable in public or private collections or in the market. Such were the conditions under which archaeology existed in Italy till well on in the seventies.

\* A lecture delivered at the Philologists' Convention, Cologne, Sept. 27, 1895. [It has been customary to insert in this *Journal* every year a brief account of recent archaeological discovery in Greece. Professor von Duhn's paper here printed gives a similar but still slighter summary of recent discovery in Italy. It appeared to the Editors of this *Journal* that it would be useful to English scholars to be able to read the paper in English, and to keep it by

them in an accessible form. Permission to reprint the article from the *New Heidelberger Jahrbuch*, in which it appeared, was kindly and readily granted by the author and the Direction of the *Jahrbuch*. The translation is by Miss K. Raleigh, and has been revised by the author. —EDD.]

<sup>1</sup> *Verhandl. der Philologenvers. in Zürich* 1887, 191-209 = *Nuova Antologia* 1887 (iii, xii), 451-478.

The unification of the country and the development of the railway system inaugurated an important era for our science. The appearance of new geographical and physical surveys suggested the idea that the soil would tell its own history. For the first time since the Roman period Italy was one state, and those Italians whose inclinations led them to historical study were eager to gain more insight into their country's past and ready to express their sentiment of common nationality by common effort directed to common aims. During the seventies work began at many different points and was attended with greater or less success, Rome being made the principal centre. The first publication whose promoters, fully realizing the importance of such a step, undertook to make it an organ of archaeological research all over the country was the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana*. This admirably conducted periodical founded by Chierici and Strobel in Parma, and by Pigorini in Rome, appeared for the first time in 1875. It was and still is limited to the primitive period of the country, a department of research untouched before 1875, but now, thanks to systematically arranged museums, becoming every day clearer before our eyes. On the other hand the reports of the *Notizie degli Scavi* published by the Accademia dei Lincei have since 1876 embraced the whole field of classical antiquity. The numbers, at first meagre, soon became fuller and more elaborate, and about the middle of the eighties volumes began to appear containing comprehensive treatises on special fields of discovery, more especially necropoleis, and illustrated by numerous and excellent plates. A certain want of proportion, however, was felt between these treatises and the scanty official reports sent out simultaneously. In 1885 the last number of the *Monumenti inediti* appeared and in 1887 the *Annali* for the year 1885 were published for the last time by the German Institute. The transference of the *Monumenti* to Berlin, the fusion of the *Annali* and *Archäologische Zeitung* into the *Jahrbuch des archäologischen Instituts*, also removed to Berlin, left a blank in Italy which was severely felt. As there were difficulties in the way of giving a homogeneous form to the *Notizie*, the Accademia dei Lincei resolved to create a new organ, whose function should be the scientific publication of art monuments and the comprehensive treatment of separate discoveries or whole groups of excavations. Thus the *Monumenti antichi* was founded, and appeared in small folio form, accompanied from time to time by a large atlas. Since the actual beginning in 1891, five volumes have been published, each filled with valuable matter. Vol vi will soon come out, and vii and viii are in active preparation.

The Academy is fortunate in having at command the services of Helbig, a specialist unusually skilled in editorial work. Thus the high degree of perfection, both in contents and form, to which the *Monumenti* have been brought not only does honour to Italy but is to a certain extent due to the earlier and multifarious activity of the German Institute.

The *Monumenti* being thus fairly established, the *Notizie degli Scavi* were in 1889 reduced for the time being to their original scale, plates and detailed reports being discontinued. The *Monumenti antichi* alone, however,



failed to overtake the work of producing classifying and discussing even the more important part of the abundant material which flowed in from year to year, while the small and easily portable numbers of the *Notizie* soon proved to be infinitely better adapted for the spread of information about current events of archaeological interest and for the presentation of uniform and regular reports obtained through the local inspectors of excavations than the volumes of the *Monumenti* which, owing to their size and costliness, could never have a wide circulation. Accordingly it was found possible, under the able editorial supervision of Barnabei (who has held the post since 1876) to reinvest the *Notizie* with an independent scientific value greater than that of the early numbers and increasing from year to year, and to facilitate reference by the very desirable addition of extra zinc plates.

Thus the *Notizie degli Scavi*, the *Monumenti antichi pubbl. dell' Accad. dei Lincei* and the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* have become the most important of those periodicals which bring before the public the results of archaeological research in Italy. In the second rank are numerous local periodicals and pamphlets, such as the *Römische Mittheilungen* and other publications of the German Institute, the *Mélanges d'Archéologie* and separate publications of the French School in Rome, and to these we hope to add contributions from the American Institute to be opened this autumn. In Italy the state was and is the pioneer in archaeological investigation. Here and there, more by chance than system, the work is shared by communities, private persons or, more rarely, by provinces.

It is remarkable how quickly centralization by the state has in our department of science superseded that provincial spirit which still makes itself so distinctly felt in political and administrative affairs. No doubt can be entertained as to the convenience and advantage of the new system. The amount that has been done by a judicious distribution of small means is simply astonishing. Persons duly qualified and eligible for official appointment are not to be found in great numbers, and yet any one who has had the good fortune to be present at works of excavation or investigation or even who is in the habit of reading the reports carefully must realize that almost everywhere the right man is in the right place. It is, I believe, due mainly to the wise restraint of the government that affairs show this novel and increasingly fortunate aspect. Instead of making spasmodic and arbitrary attempts, here a little and there a little, the government, while reserving intact certain great leading principles of action, forms its decisions on the advice, valuable because founded on real knowledge of the matter, of archaeologists and inspectors of excavations throughout the country. These men know their ground accurately and therefore can give a reliable opinion as to the possibility of any projected piece of work.

When the system of state control was first put into shape it was thought necessary to appoint an archaeological specialist as General Director of Antiquities. On the retirement of Fiorelli the office remained in abeyance for some years, during which time departmental arrangements of decentralizing tendency continued in force. A new scheme is now being

formed and promises well. It was felt that impartial judgment and willing subordination are difficult to ensure when proposals made by specialists of equal scientific standing are submitted to another specialist for final decision. A state official was therefore appointed to the newly reconstituted post of General Director. Both departments—*divisioni*—one for museums, galleries and excavations, the other for monuments, are in charge of this official, and it is his duty to define the province of each as occasion arises and to prevent friction. The departments, consisting of specialists, are further strengthened for the present by the museum directors. It was intended that the staff should be increased for purposes of consultation from the *Giunta per la storia e l'archeologia*, an assemblage of representatives from the most important academies of the country, but this newly created society has as yet shown little sign of life. This effective central control, established in the manner described, forms an integral part of the Ministry of Instruction. The external organization is placed in the hands of local inspectors all over the country, whose offices are mostly honorary. These inspectors have to keep watch over the interests of archaeology in the widest sense of the word. Their reports on all new discoveries and results of excavation go direct to Rome for publication in the *Notizie*. Reports on the preservation of architectural monuments are sent to the 'Uffici regionali per i monumenti,' and the directors of the government museums in various districts receive information referring to works of art or objects of interest in public or private collections. These museum directors have at the same time the oversight of excavations in their own districts so long as no exceptional discovery makes it necessary to send for a specialist. It stands to reason that the personal supervision exercised by the directors during the work of excavation ensures scientific and rational system in the arrangement of museums.

Such is in brief the organization of practical archaeology in Italy. The scheme, though not uniformly developed in all parts, is on the whole in good working order, and while furthering the centralization so necessary to unanimity of aim and uniformity of method in the collection and arrangement of material, does not fail to give due weight to the characteristics of different districts and due scope for the exercise of individual talent.

Some of my hearers may think I have described in too great detail the organization of archaeology in Italy. Yet I venture to say that the details have their own importance if we would gain a clear idea not only of the nature and distribution of the work, but of an admirable system of arrangement which might well serve as a model to other countries.

And now let us turn to the work itself. Our knowledge of the country is still in many respects incomplete and inexact. This is not surprising when we remember the political disunion of the earlier epoch, the difficulty of communication and prevailing insecurity, the scarcity of qualified workers, and the too frequent narrowness of their views and aims.

The German Institute may claim the merit of having shown by a brilliant example, the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, chiefly due to the labours of Mommsen, what is meant by a systematic scrutiny of a whole country and

how, at least in one field of investigation, a consistent image is thereby evolved. On criticism the *Corpus* had a particularly good educative effect. The necessity of going first to the existing facts—in this instance the inscribed stones themselves, and of consulting less authentic sources, such as ancient copies or local records, only in case the original stones are missing or incomplete, and then with the greatest caution—this necessity is now universally admitted, but before the appearance of the *Corpus inscriptionum regni Neapolitani* it was by no means taken for granted. One practical outcome of the recognition of this principle has been the resolve of the Italian government to prepare an archaeological map of the whole country, an undertaking neither so difficult nor so impracticable as it might appear.<sup>2</sup> Our Institute has just finished a map of Attica, undoubtedly the most important region of the Greek world, having successfully accomplished the preliminary task of projecting the map, as there was none in existence which could be used for the purpose. In fact the map is an important achievement in itself even without the archaeological features. Now for Italy there is the admirable general ordnance map nearly complete, to be used as a basis, so that nothing is left to do but enlarge the scale and insert the existing antiquities. This is of course a work of time and trouble, but well worth doing, for it will provide a groundwork for genuine knowledge of the country both in ancient and modern times. The two essential aims of such a map—to determine the locality of ancient settlements and to fix the course of the roads—are closely bound up together, for the direction and meeting-points of the roads lead to the discovery of settlements, and these in their turn help to indicate the lines of communication. In this kind of research the spade must test the correctness of hypotheses, provide foothold for fresh departures, define the extent of early settlements and approximately fix the amount of their population. Valuable material towards the solution of this difficult problem, so important for a correct appreciation of antiquity, may be obtained by examining the necropoleis contiguous to the settlements, and such an examination will at the same time produce different and higher results, for an accurate knowledge of graves, their contents and ritual, is absolutely indispensable if we would gain a clear scientific idea of the history, artistic development, culture, trade relations and ethnological position of any primitive group of dwellings.

The distinguished men who have the work in hand will endeavour to satisfy all these requirements in each portion of the archaeological map. The task of preparing proof-sheets lies chiefly in the hands of Count Cozza, Pasqui and Gamurrini, and is quietly proceeding under the guidance of Barnabei. Proofs from South Etruria and the Faliscan country are ready but not yet published. That the preliminary studies for this portion of the map have been conscientiously pursued and have opened up issues more numerous and important than could have been anticipated in a region so near Rome is evident from the collections in the Museo dell' agro Romano (Villa Papa

Giulio), so well arranged by Barnabei and consisting for the most part of objects found in the localities worked up for the map. The fourth volume of the *Monumenti antichi*, with its portfolio of admirable illustrations, bearing the title *Antichità del Territorio Falisco*, is another standing proof of the same thing. The volume illustrates the early period of that small but remarkable country whose Italic nationality, supported and fostered by those neighbouring tribes in Latium and Sabina which had either kept or regained their freedom, flourished intact even under Etruscan dominion at a time when among the remaining indigenous population of Etruria that same Italic nationality had been lost or impaired as a consequence of the foreign invasion.

It has for some time been accepted as a general law that in the mountainous parts of Central and Southern Italy orderly settlements of the true Italic race following upon the stratum of scattered primitive population begin in the mountains and may be traced downwards to the valleys. An elevated site offered security against man and beast and immunity from the dangers of fever or flood peculiar to the lowlands, which in those early times were probably well watered. The counterbalancing inconvenience and loss of time could hardly be accounted drawbacks at a period when trade and traffic were still so undeveloped. Hence the lonely heights of Southern Italy are in many places still girt by ancient rings of stone,<sup>3</sup> which must have been abandoned as soon as civilization began to grow in the seaboard districts. The hill-fortresses of Central Italy, especially in Etruria and Umbria, held their own longer, some of the modern cities being direct descendants of the early settlements. This tenacity of site may in some instances have been an outcome of political conditions, but it was more frequently a natural consequence of the fact that the valleys were ir reclaimable. What could be less enviable than the sites of the towns of the Volsci between the Sacco valley and the Pontine Marshes? When any portion of land was reclaimed, migration to the valley, or at least to a lower spur of the mountain, naturally took place. Many a town in Etruria reveals its original site only by the presence of an ancient burial-ground on the hill above the later settlement, and the curious circumstance that the oldest graves are frequently the highest and the more recent ones lower down can in some places only be explained by the assumption of an older colony situated on the very summit of the hill.

Nowhere has a more complete historical picture been obtained than in the Faliscan region so carefully investigated and explained by Barnabei and his colleagues. Most of the country is embraced in the river-system of the Treia and its tributaries, which, making their way through long deep pre-

<sup>3</sup> O. Richter, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler d. class. Alterth.* 1694 ff. The chronology and history of these old fortresses in Central, and especially in Southern Italy is for the most part obscure. Twenty years ago Gamurrini tried to impress those who exercised control of anti-

quities with the advisability, or rather the necessity, of extensive Necropolis excavations, but his efforts produced little result: v. his admirable letter on this subject to Pigorini: *Bull. di paleontol. ital.* xxi (1895), 86-88.

capitous gorges, bear down to the Tiber the water from the volcanic summits of the Silva Ciminia and from the craters and crater lakes lying more to the south. The oldest settlements—at the same time the smallest—are here all found above the head of the valley, for the most part on isolated peaks towering over the ancient crater edge which now forms a watershed between the lakes and the river-system. It is possible that these unrecorded colonies of a pre-Etruscan Italic shepherd tribe remained for a long time undisturbed. Enlargements and offshoot settlements may be traced, distinguishable from the older nuclei by their newer form and the better construction of their fortress rings. The cremation graves corresponding to these dwellings cover a period of many generations and show an advance in the manufacture ornamentation and colouring of the clay vessels they contain (most of them have the so-called ‘Villanova’ form), while the sepulchral vases which gradually begin to appear testify to the introduction of new forms. Nothing in these hill-dwellings on Monte Sant’ Angelo, Monte Lucchetti, Rocca Romana, and Monte Calvi warrants us in supposing that they continued down to more recent times; not a single important object can be traced to Greece or Phoenicia. By the eighth century B.C. at latest regular colonization on these spots must have ceased. Among later remains are some scattered settlements in the form of open courtyards with sepulture tombs containing objects of seventh or sixth century date. A few traces of Roman civilization suffice to show that even in agricultural times the population made attempts to regain foothold on the hills.

What became of the dwellers on these heights after the eighth century B.C.? To answer this question we must make our way to two cities lying farther down the valley. The first, Narce, is only just discovered; Falerii, the second, the modern Civit  Castellana, is situated above the Tiber valley and was capital of the district till the Roman conquest early in the third century B.C. About the time when their southern neighbours were beginning to come down from the heights of Alba and Sabina and to take up their abode on the famous hills of the Tiber, the Falisci of the Treia valley may have gradually broken with their old conditions of life and exchanged their mountain fastnesses one by one for dwellings on the lower ranges. Political conditions perhaps helped to bring about this change of habitat. On a previous occasion I tried to show that about the eighth century B.C. Etruscans began to push southwards.<sup>4</sup> It was then that the Italic races

<sup>4</sup> *Bonner Studien* 28, 35 = *Bull. di Paleontol. Ital.* xvi (1890), 118, 129. This paper was an attempt to obtain in the history of funeral customs a new criterion for the appreciation of conditions of life in Italy in early historic times, and it succeeded at least in setting the question afloat and encouraging a more exact and keener observation of the facts of discovery. While some agreed with the views expressed, others expressed doubt, the following writers giving their reasons for dissent with a

completeness for which science must be grateful — Reisch, *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* 1891, 1574-77, St. Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci* (1891), *passim*, and Lattes, ‘di due nuove iscriz. pre-romane trov. pr. Pesaro’ (*Rendic. dei Lincei* 1894. Appendice seconda p. 93 ff.). In opposition to Gsell I tried to prove the correctness of my view from the same example (Vulci): *Atti e mem. d. R. Deput. di stor. nat. p. le proc. di Romagna* 1892, 210-223, and Gsell replied in *Mel. d’archeol. et d’hist.* xi (1892),

were forced to find some means of checking the foreign invasion. Latium could be defended only on the line of the Tiber; hence the foundation of Rome. The hill-fortresses on the crater ridges of the Ciminian mountains, although they had the advantage of an elevated site, were neither central to the district threatened nor themselves secure against attack. The rude heaped ramparts of stone could offer but a temporary obstacle to the progress of invaders, while the water-ditch, which first made the *terreus murus* of the Italic plain settlements capable of defence, was here evidently impracticable. Under these conditions it became necessary to found settlements by preference either on those high triangular mountain spurs, each of which is cut off from the adjacent country by the steep gorges of two converging torrents, or on precipitous heights isolated in every direction. This kind of natural formation occurs frequently, as is well known, in the lower ranges of Western Central Italy, and nowhere more frequently than in the country of the Falisci. Our knowledge of the early history and gradual growth of Rome is but scanty, for besides literary tradition the only materials at our command are some wretched and in great part unintelligible structural remains and a few graves of which an imperfect record has been kept. This is not so in Narce, and from the analogy of Narce many important conclusions about Rome may be drawn. In the eighth century B.C., when the first real ramparts of imperfectly squared stones were springing up round many a town of Latium and Etruria, the principal hill of Narce was walled round in three successive zones, while the huts within the town were erected in the oldest simplest form such as we see exemplified in the hut-urns or the *casa Romuli*.<sup>5</sup> The pottery is still of the primitive sort, made by hand out of greyish-black clay. Towards the end of the century the town had to be enlarged. The nearest hill to the south, Monte li Santi, was enclosed by a wall, the masonry of which shows a decided advance, and connected with the previous settlement by means of a bridge.

By the time this newer wall was built pottery with a brilliant red slip, such as is usually found in graves along with Phoenician and Greek articles of commerce of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., had come into use. Later on, three more hills and other jutting spurs of rock were drawn into the same enclosure. The settlement as first founded was purely Italic, a place of refuge to be defended against the Etrusci. This is clear from the

425-31. Cf. *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.* iv (1894), 155.<sup>2</sup> The question can be seriously discussed only in and for Italy, for only in Italy has systematic excavation of tombs been carried far enough. As to Greece and its colonies in Asia Minor, we can draw but few analogies until we know many more archaic burying-grounds in those countries, hence E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.* ii 508, would have done better to leave them out of the question. Besides, it was precisely the change of ritual in Greece which gave me the starting-point for my investigations.

<sup>5</sup> For these old Italian dwelling-huts, their form and construction c. Lanciani, *Athenaeum* 1889, 424 (on remains of huts made of straw and basket-work, supported on a wooden sub-structure and made secure on the outside by stones); Barnabei, *Not. d. sc.* 1893, 198-210. The most recent treatise on the subject of Italian hut-urns is by A. Taramelli: *Bollett. dell'Accad. d. Lincei* 1893, 423-450, who has made a careful classification of much valuable material.

fact that the oldest graves are crematory and arranged according to Italic custom just like those early ones belonging to the higher settlements on the mountain ridge, that is to say, each burial-ground represents a town in miniature, enclosed by a wall and divided by *Cardo* and *Decumanus*. On the outside of some of the tombs the roof-construction of the huts is imitated.

The objects found in these tombs, especially the vessels for ashes, show at first all the purely Italic characteristics of the earlier period, although in form, workmanship and ornamentation they are somewhat in advance of those found on Monte Sant' Angelo, &c. Greek and oriental imports appear later and consist of metal or clay vessels and small articles of jewellery. About the end of the eighth century or a little later, Narce fell into the hands of the Etruscans, and from this time onwards we find, in addition to the cremation graves which at first continue frequent, graves of sepulture *a fossa* and later *a camera* just as they existed in Rome under Etruscan rule.

Rome shook off the alien yoke at the end of the sixth century B.C. and, as a consequence, foreign funeral customs ceased to be the rule, but the country of the Falisci remained in subjection to the Etrusci, a historical fact faithfully reflected in the graves. Down to the end of the fifth century Greek imported vases can be traced. At the beginning of the fourth century there is a sudden stop and everything comes to an end. The destruction of Veii by Camillus in 396 B.C. must have been followed by the downfall of Narce. Before this Falerii, which was much more favourably situated, had outstripped Narce, and it survived a century later. The history of the two towns and their burial-places runs a similar course, but the remains found at Falerii are richer, both in quality and quantity, than those of Narce, as the Museum in the Villa Papa Giulio adequately shows.

I cannot close this short account of the Faliscan country without calling your attention to the praiseworthy manner in which the arrangement and publication of the finds have kept pace with the thorough investigation of the soil. Every excavation carefully and scientifically conducted throws light on a variety of subjects. Thus to the strict balancing of evidence afforded by excavations, aided by Barnabei's keen observing faculty and wide knowledge of ceramic art, we owe the first real history of the older indigenous pottery of central Italy.

The early history of that younger group of tribes, which occupied the district between the river Arno and the Volscian Mountains and had reached the stage of burning their dead, has been systematically investigated for the Faliscan region, and fresh discoveries from other parts are constantly adding to our knowledge. The patient researches of men like Chierici, Pigorini, Brizio and others have afforded us many a marvellous glimpse of the childhood of the Roman race.

The first pre-Italic indigenous dwellers in the Po country kept well away from the river-systems and from the Po in particular on account of the treacherous and shifting character of the soil. The older Italic group, tribes

who still practised sepulture, feeling the same dislike to the inhospitable district, travelled southwards along the Adriatic, meaning to colonize the East and South of the peninsula. It was only the more recent group of the Italic race, those who practised cremation, who halted there. These younger tribes probably brought with them the custom of building on piles, began to regulate the current of the smaller rivers and brooks and even, relying on their piles and waste sluices, penetrated into the main Po valley. Although, as Taramelli points out,<sup>6</sup> no dam was built along the Po till almost Roman times, yet the first step towards making use of the alluvial region for agricultural purposes was taken when pile-dwellings were erected and sluices set to work. From their starting-point not far from Pavia<sup>7</sup> the pile-settlements, the 'terremare' of the cremating Italic tribes, extend eastward as far as the Euganean hills north of the Po, southwards to the Panaro and on to the lower mountain slopes. Decrease or cessation of danger from flood, perhaps also a growing feeling of political security, were the causes which moved the pile-dwellers in parts of the Po region, throughout the whole of Romagna and as far south as San Marino, where the Apennines push into the sea and mark an ancient race boundary, to give up their original mode of building and form settlements of huts on terra firma. It was at this stage of development that they colonized in addition the country stretching southward from the Apennines to the Volscian Mountains. Our knowledge of pile-dwellings has been materially widened during the last five years by the industrious and discriminating researches of Pigorini and his pupil Scotti, and for the first time a plan of a pile-settlement has been obtained.<sup>8</sup> First a rectangular space was marked out with the help of two straight lines (the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*) intersecting at right angles, their direction being probably determined by some simple astronomical observations. On the very line of the *Cardo* there were found, at Castellazzo, two rectangular depressions and a square hollow between them. These hollows, 1.50 m deep, were

<sup>6</sup> T. Taramelli, 'La valle del Po nell'epoca quaternaria' (*Atti del primo congresso geogr. ital.* Genova 1892), 40, in agreement with what was ascertained by A. Stella the engineer, as Taramelli informs me. Lombardini inclined to attribute the first embankments to the Etruscans (*Notiz. natur. e civili della Lombardia* cap. IV). At that time (1844), as is well known, the importance of the Etruscans was much exaggerated, and it is only of late that they have been more accurately appreciated.

<sup>7</sup> Till quite lately it was supposed that the western boundary of the Italic pile-dwellers was formed either by the Oglio or the Adda, but within recent date pile-dwellings have been found on the Lambro, that is, a long way within the boundary of Lombardy. *Not. d. sc.* 1891, 41. 203. 1892, 437-440. *Bull. stor. Pavese* ii (1894): A. Taramelli, *di alcuni oggetti preistorici esistenti a Chignolo*.

<sup>8</sup> Published in its latest form by Pigorini, *Not. d. sc.* 1895, 10 = *Bull. di paleontol. ital.* xxi (1895) Tav. V. Pigorini's most recent reports (*Not. a. a. O.* 9-17; *Bull.* 78-80). I published a summary of the results gained up to the year 1894 in the *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.* iv (1894), 143-156, Montelius followed, *Civil. primit. en Italie* i, 142-146. Near Rovere di Caorso, not far from Piacenza, L. Scotti succeeded in determining the ground-plan of another such settlement, quite similar to the above, and by its publication *Not. d. sc.* 1894, 374 (= Montelius *loc. cit.* 143) interesting evidence is afforded of the correctness of Pigorini's discovery. Another report by Scotti is about to appear, and one still more important, by Pigorini (on the traces of streets found in the interior), will come out in the *Notizie* for 1896.



covered with wood and contained nothing but a few 'Signa': fragments of primitive pottery and shells. In the smaller settlement of Rovere di Caorso, near Piacenza, there were only three such trenches. These regular hollows, always placed in the line of the *Cardo* and enclosed by the *Arx*, may have been surveyors' marks<sup>9</sup> like those of 1000 years later in the border 'Castella.' The rectangle, once marked out and orientated as a whole, could be altered to suit local conditions. If for instance it lay on a bank gently sloping to the river, it was easy to divert a neighbouring brook from its course and make it fill up one of the trenches which surrounded the settlement and debouched on the opposite side; to obtain a better fall for the water, the original rectangle might be changed into a trapezium. The earth dug out of the trench or got by levelling the interior was thrown up into a high broad rampart, the inner side of which was cut perpendicular and held together by a strong wooden palisade. The only entrance was on one of the narrow sides, exactly on the line which we should like to call the *Decumanus*. A broad substantial bridge made of massive beams was laid over the ditch or moat, here doubled in width, apparently in order to lighten the task of defence by making the approach to the bridge more difficult. Inside the enclosure was a network of streets formed of heaped earth resting directly on the surface of the ground and laid out according to a regular plan. The two principal streets coincided with the *Cardo* and *Decumanus* and met at right angles in the centre. The smaller streets were banked up in the same way and ran parallel, some of them to the *Cardo*, others to the *Decumanus*. In each rectangular space between these lines of streets a solid stack of piles was set up. These piles supported a floor, which again formed the basis for dwelling-huts of round or elliptical form distributed on some definite plan. Between the *Decumanus* and one side of the rampart a rectangular space, halved by the *Cardo*, was left unbuilt. This space was closed in by a substantial hurdle fence made of piles and basketwork, and surrounded by a ditch. The interior, raised to a high level, showed no trace of dwelling-huts, but contained some of those hollows which I have mentioned as having possibly been intended for surveying purposes. A wooden bridge on the line of the *Cardo* connected this citadel (*Arx*) with the central point of the settlement.

The burial-grounds belonging to these settlements lie outside of but quite close to them, partly sheltered by the wall, and reproduce on a small scale the characteristics of the habitations of the living,<sup>10</sup> a phenomenon which we had occasion to observe in the country of the Falisci.<sup>11</sup> A wall and a moat surround the necropolis. A bridge, on the line of the *decumanus*, leads to the interior. Inside are small stacks of piles and on these are laid in close-packed rows and layers the plain lidless urns with drinking cups which contain only burnt human remains or, exceptionally and in smaller quantity, traces of objects consumed with the corpse. Everything points to a bald and simple ritual. The body was burned in its clothes (the place used in common for this purpose has

<sup>9</sup> Thus Pigonni *Nel.* 1895, 16-17. *Bull.* iv (1894), 152 *folg.* 1895, 79.

<sup>11</sup> *Mon. de L. acci* iv (1894), 72, 85-86, 159.

<sup>10</sup> For more details v. *New Hebr. J. Arch.*

been discovered) and after the removal of all heterogeneous remains the ashes of the dead were preserved. No distinguishing mark either on or over the urn made personal identification possible. The whole necropolis bears the stamp of statutory arrangement, uniform procedure and subordination of the individual to the community, a true foreshadowing of the Roman state.

Each of these settlements could accommodate a certain number of inhabitants and no more. When the population became too large a colony formed of the younger members was sent out, probably in the form of the 'ver sacrum,' to found a similar settlement elsewhere. In this way the land between Alps and Apennines became covered with countless Italic colonies, some of them forerunners of later towns, and the soil was gradually brought under cultivation.

Recent investigations have shown that this peaceful course of events was rudely interrupted and the pile-dwellers forced further afield. An alien race, the Veneti, possibly of Illyrian origin, broke in from the north-east through the ever open door and took possession of the district between Adige and Alps, which still forms part of Venetian territory. The remarkable artistic productions of this race, important also in their bearing on the Alpine regions, may be best studied in the Museum at Este, and from year to year fresh light is thrown on them by the praiseworthy efforts of Prosdocimi, Ghirardini<sup>12</sup> and others. The Italic race gave way before the Veneti, but whether the occupation of Etruria and Latium by the Itali was a consequence of the foreign invasion or had previously begun is uncertain. At a later period followed the incursion and settlement of another equally alien people, the Etrusci. It is not yet clear, in spite of the manifold efforts made by competent investigators (especially Castelfranco), what was the ethnological place of a western group of pile-builders whom Pigorini rightly classifies apart from the eastern division.<sup>13</sup> This group of tribes established themselves over most of Lombardy and parts of Piedmont, especially within the Lombardic lake and river systems. Their necropoleis, at least in the lake settlements, appear to have taken the form of separate pile structures.<sup>14</sup> These pile-builders lived apart from the lines of Mediterranean civilization and remained much longer undisturbed than their Eastern neighbours of the same Italic race. As their nearest analogy is to be found in the pile-builders of Switzerland they may perhaps be of Keltic or Ligurian origin.

<sup>12</sup> Especially Ghirardini's admirable treatise on the sanctuary found in the Fondo Baratela with its numerous votive gifts (*Not. d. sc.* 1888, 3-42; 71-127; 147-175; 204-214; 313-385 with 13 plates), and the first instalment (the only one so far) of his work in collaboration on the bronze situlae of Este (*Mon. dei Lincei* ii (1893), 161-252), should be here noted; v. also Montelius, *Civilis. primit.* i, Sér. B 273-314 and pl. 50-61.

<sup>13</sup> *Rendic. dei Lincei* 1888, 301-303. For the

most recent summary of the literature on the subject of this distinction v. *Bull. de paléontol. ital.* xx (1894), 12, 1<sup>a</sup>. The most important centre of the western group is Golasecca (with Castelletto Ticinese, which lies opposite). These were probably the necropoleis belonging to a considerable colony in the Ticino. For the literature of the subject v. Montelius, *Civilis. primitive en Italie* i, 236-37.

<sup>14</sup> Castelfranco, *Bull. di paleont. ital.* xx (1894), 81-90.

The word 'Ligurian' brings us to a new field of research so interesting and full of material, that I at first intended to report to you Ligurian discoveries of the most recent period only. Ligurian cave-dwellings, open settlements and, more especially, cave-tombs have been studied uninterruptedly and with increasing success by Morelli, Issel, Amerano, Colini and others.<sup>15</sup> the result being that many a time-honoured prejudice and false synchronism has had to be abandoned. It remains true, however, that down to the Roman period the dwellers in the western half of the Ligurian Apennine retained the strange half-savage characteristics described by Poseidonios. The people of the eastern half, whose settlements reached as far as the Arno valley,<sup>16</sup> were more rapidly civilized, for we know that at a very early period<sup>17</sup> they adopted from the contiguous tribes on the north, east and south the custom of cremation, a custom not prevalent among the western Ligures until Roman times.

The Ligures are a pre-Italic race who maintained with peculiar tenacity their foothold in the country afterwards called Liguria. Geographical conditions made it easy for them to do so, but we need not therefore conclude that this undesirable region was the one they chose for themselves on their arrival in the peninsula. Traces of their presence, either earlier than or contemporary with those later arrivals the Italic tribes, may reasonably be looked for elsewhere. We happen to know that Ligures had settled in the South of France, and that it was not till the fifth century B.C. that they submitted to the Kelts and were gradually amalgamated with them. In the case of Italy, literary evidence is not forthcoming, but the spade has proved a trustworthy witness. In the plain of the Po, on the Adriatic coast and in southern central Italy groups of graves and hut-dwellings, mostly belonging to the stone age or to the so-called aenolithic period, have come to light. These have in common with the Ligures of West Liguria certain peculiarities, such as the position of the corpse, which is laid on one side with the limbs slightly drawn up, and the custom of placing in the tomb a rich outfit of stone and copper daggers, strings of shells, shell ornaments for clothes and other characteristic gifts. Chierici's last task was to excavate a very interesting group of such graves<sup>18</sup> at Remedello, not far from

<sup>15</sup> In 1892 Issel published in his work *La Liguria* vol. ii a joint treatise (which hardly fulfilled the expectations formed) on the subject of pre-Roman Liguria. See also his essay on the caverna Pollara, in the *Atti d. Società ligr. di sc. natur. e gosp.* v. (Genoa 1894). Plenty of new material is to be found in the last volumes of the *Bull. di pol. it.* especially xix (1893), 327 ff. (Colini). The existence of dwelling-places outside the caves, formerly doubted, has now been proved beyond question: v. e.g. Castelfranco, *Bull. di pol.* xviii (1892), 148; Issel, *Bull. di pol.* xix (1893), 87-91.

<sup>16</sup> The most easterly Ligurian graves hitherto discovered on the Lago di Bentina, on the

north bank of the Arno opposite Pontedera, east of Monte Senia, are described by Ghirardini, *Rendic. dei Lincei* 1894, 185-188.

<sup>17</sup> The earliest cremation graves of Liguria of the late Cortosa period were found in 1884 near Sayignone, north of Genoa and east of Monte de' Giovi: Ghirardini, *Rendic. dei Lincei* 1894, 205-218.

<sup>18</sup> *Bull. di pol.* x (1884), 133-141 Pl. VI. xi (1885), 135-146. xii (1886), 134-140. *Compt. rend. Acad. di Brescia* 1886, 81 (Cast-silver pin from a grave of this kind). Pigorini, *Rendic. dei Lincei* 1887 (III), ii, 296. Montelius, *La civilisation prim. en Italie* i, pl. 36. 37, 191 ff. Similar graves near Fontanella di

Brescia, and since then dwelling-huts corresponding to them have been found.<sup>19</sup>

It is a remarkable fact that during the last few years excavations conducted by Brizio at Novilara near Pesaro have produced large groups of these graves, while similar graves have been found in other parts of Picenum between Foglia and Chienti, *e.g.* at Numana, the predecessor of Ancona, at Ancona itself, at Monteroberto, Osimo, Tolentino and elsewhere. Here and there traces of the hut-dwellings belonging to the graves have been found. Besides minor notices there is an accurate and detailed report of these discoveries by Brizio published in vol. v of the *Monumenti antichi* and fully illustrated. Many of the graves have been removed entire and placed in the Museums of Pesaro, Ancona and Rome.

One very interesting conclusion we may draw from these graves in Picenum is that the original pre-Italic modes of living and burial customs survived till the 5th or even the 4th century B.C. At Serrapetrona for instance there were found in one and the same stratum of graves stone instruments, shell ornaments and iron weapons,<sup>20</sup> a phenomenon which is difficult to explain except by the somewhat isolated position of this mountain district. A remarkable and instructive example of the undisturbed continuance of Mykenean art principles in these regions is supplied by some tomb stelai decorated on one side with spiral patterns and on the other with sea-fights and other subjects incised.<sup>21</sup> This fact in the history of art and culture<sup>22</sup> is further substantiated by numerous art-forms from Bologna, the Venetic country, the Alps and the Caucasus.<sup>23</sup> Two of these stelai<sup>24</sup> have on one side ornament and on the other inscriptions, among these a very long one written in an alphabet analogous to that of Corcyra and previously known from discoveries on the East coast. The inscriptions might have supplied a key to the better understanding of the Picenum group but unfortunately they are still undeciphered. What we know of them is purely negative. They do not represent any Italic language, nor should they (as Lattes has

Casal romano: *Bull. di pol.* xvi (1890), 50. xviii (1892), 55. xix (1893), 17-30. 92-102 Pl. IV. Rivalta (near Mantua): *Bull. di pol.* ii (1876), 126; south of the Po near Caleno: *Bull.* i (1875), 104 cf. xix, 27; Collecchio (near Parma): *Bull.* ii (1876), 77 cf. *Bull.* xii, 82, 4. 132. Camarola: *Bull.* x (1884), 111 ff. Tav. VII cf. *Bull.* xviii, 218. Santilario d'Enza: *Bull.* v (1879), 133. 195. Gorzano: *Bull.* x (1884), 130. xii (1886), 158. More recent, but belonging to the same family. Povegliano. (For the literature *v.* Montelius, *Cicels. prehist.* i, 200 and pl. 37.) For the position of the skeleton, specially typical in Lengyel, but occurring also in numerous graves of central and west central Europe *v.* Brizio's remarks and syntheses in *Mon. dei Lincei* v (1895), 105-111.

<sup>19</sup> P. Castelluccio's essays, *Bull. di pol.* xix

(1893), 17-30. 92-102.

<sup>20</sup> *Bull. di pol. ital.* (1888), 44-46.

<sup>21</sup> Thus the earliest known objects of this class, brought to light by Undset, *Zeitsch. für Ethnol.* 1883 Taf V and p. 209-219 = *Mon. dei Lincei* v (1895), 91-98 (Fig. 2 and 3). Similarly 171-172, Fig. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Schumacher, *Præhist. Ciste im Museum zu Karlsruhe* 47.

<sup>23</sup> *E.g.* the ornamentation on the edge of the bronze plates published by Vinchow 'Ueber die culturgeschichtliche Stellung des Kaukasus' (*Abh. der kgl. preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. phys. Kl.* 1895) Taf. I-IV is Mykenean.

<sup>24</sup> *Mon. dei Lincei* v (1895), 177-178. 179-182. For the stele with the principal inscription *v.* Lattes: 'di due nuove iscrizioni pre-romane trov. pr. Pesaro' (*Rendic. dell' Acc. dei Lincei* 1894) Tav. I. II.

vainly tried to prove) be considered Etruscan; indeed, as Brizio truly remarked,<sup>25</sup> the nature of the accompanying grave ritual is enough to destroy any such theory. Philologists would do well to examine the available data in relation to the little that is known of the Ligurian language.

If we now turn Southwards we must be deeply impressed by the variety and excellence of the work being done in Sicily.

Paolo Orsi's energy and skill applied to this too long neglected part of the kingdom have been rewarded by the most surprising results. Since 1889 report after report speaks for Orsi's tireless activity in the task of excavation of the South-eastern portion of the island, so that here more than almost anywhere else we can form a complete and living image of ancient times. Orsi has shown what can be won from the soil when a scientist, trained in severe methods of study and familiar with the varied issues of modern research, brings his faculties to bear on the task. Italy has every reason to be proud of Orsi and of the Museum at Syracuse, formed by him into a working institution which might well serve as a model. All this is the more gratifying because the old kingdom of Naples left much to be desired from an archaeological point of view.

Orsi's investigations during the last seven years have included nearly every period, from the pure stone age with its pre-Siculi indigenous population, to the time of the Christian catacombs, but his two most brilliant contributions to science unquestionably are—first, the investigation of the peculiar civilization of the Siculi,<sup>26</sup> which existed parallel to Troy, Mykene, the revived geometric style, and the earliest Greek colonization:—second, the examination of the first two and a half centuries of Greek culture, especially in Syracuse<sup>27</sup> and Megara Hyblaea.<sup>28</sup> It would take too long to describe the tholos-like tomb caves dug in the rock, where the dead were buried *successively*, at first in a crouching position, then lying, with a provision of food beside them. The tombs give a clear idea of the life lived by the Siculi, and show how the influence of civilizations coming from the east brought about a gradual change in ritual and artistic types. Additional information may be gathered from the choice of sites for dwellings and the natural defences made use of. Orsi has been able to follow down to the fifth century B.C. traces of this strange Sicilian civilization, often on the very spots where well-known Greek cities afterwards stood. The little we know from literary sources has all been corroborated by the monuments,<sup>29</sup> except

<sup>25</sup> *Mon. del. Lincei* v, 178. I am assured by F. Buecheler and H. Osthoff that the language of the inscriptions is neither 'Italic' nor Etruscan.

<sup>26</sup> Most of the reports on this subject are to be found in the *Bull. de paléont. ital.*, some in the *Mon. del. Lincei* ii (1893) and the *Arch. stor. Siciliana*; shorter separate communications in the *Not. d. sc. stor. Triest. Riv. di stor. antich.* i (1895), p. 96, give a useful summary of Orsi's work among the Sicilian remains, clas-

sifying it in periods. Orsi himself has summarized his Sicilian labours from 1889-1893 in his 'Quattro anni di esplorazioni Sicule. Palma 1891.

<sup>27</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1891, 101-116. 1893, 122-129. 115-116. 1895, 109-192.

<sup>28</sup> *Mon. del. Lincei* i (1892), 689-950 and 9 plates (Cavallari and Orsi). *Not. d. sc.* 1892, 121-132, 172-183, 210-211, 213-252, 278-288 (Caruso, under Orsi).

<sup>29</sup> *Ep. Thukyd.* vi 1, makes the Megareans

that the east coast Phoenician settlements mentioned by Thucydides cannot be exactly identified.<sup>30</sup>

To find remains analogous to those of which I have just spoken we must go not only to Italy (e.g. Lucania) but to Sardinia, Southern Spain and North Africa. Quite lately Orsi has investigated under government commission the lonely island of Pantellaria,<sup>31</sup> the ancient Kossura, between Sicily and Africa, and has obtained good results. The remarkable stone buildings of the Sese on Pantellaria had early attracted the notice of students interested in the Nurhaghe of Sardinia, the Talajots of the Balearic Islands and the Dolmens of Algeria. The well-known glosses<sup>32</sup> notwithstanding, it seems that the Siculi, though receptive to outside influences, were not of Italic race. They may have moved slowly down the peninsula before the approaching Itali and finally passed over to the Island—in ancient literature are to be found reminiscences of early settlements of Siculi on the mainland.<sup>33</sup> They were probably connected with the population of Sardinia and North Africa, possibly with the so-called Ligures.

In the eighth century B.C. the Greeks gained a definite foothold on the Island. From the town of Megara alone, destroyed in 482 B.C., Cavallari and Orsi obtained ample evidence for the history of trade relations with the East. City and necropolis were exhaustively treated in the fine work by Orsi and Cavallari published four years ago (Note 28). More recent excavation in the necropolis of Megara brought to the Museum at Syracuse valuable matter for study and proved by the evidence of vases that the city really came to an end in 482, for hardly a trace of red-figure work was found. Our knowledge of terra-cottas and vases has been materially increased by

settle on the spot where their city afterwards stood "Ἰβλῶνος βασιλείῳ Σικελῶς προδόντος τὴν χώραν καὶ καθηγησαμένον. Hence the place was under the command of the native chief although not itself a settlement of the Siculi, for the Siculi and the Greeks, as Orsi has so aptly observed (*Mon. L.* i, 692), never colonize the same site: on the other hand the Siculi, who chose to live ἐπὶ ἀχυροτάτων λόφων (Diod. v, 6), could make good use of the foreign traders who were accustomed to the sea and lived on the coast. Pais maintained (*Storia della Sicilia e Magna Grecia* i, 180-82, 592; *Studi storici* i, 391) that a colony of Siculi existed on the site of the city of Megara, but in answer to him Orsi succeeded in proving (*Bull. di pal. ital.* xxi (1895) 50) that there was a pre-Siculi settlement on the site, with stone and clay objects characteristic of the stone age and similar to those found in the settlement at Stentinello, *Bull. di pal.* xvi (1890) Tav. VI-VIII, 177-200), but not a single object of Siculi make, while on the other hand Hybla, the modern Melilli (cf. king 'Hyblon'), which commanded Megara, has proved to be a very important Siculi centre (*Bull. di pal. it.* xvii

(1891) Tav. IV-VI, 53-76. xviii (1892) 31, 34), and contains according to Orsi (*Bull.* xvii, 55) so far as is known not one archaic Greek tomb. Cf. also Rizzo, *Ist. di stor. ant.* i, 3, 77-78.

<sup>30</sup> Only those who have the courage to maintain with Helbig (*Acad. d. inscr. et belles lettres* 1895 Sitting of May 31; *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad.* 1896) that the Mykenean civilization is Phoenician could (up to the present time) agree with Thucydides, for Orsi's second Siculi period is certainly 'Mykenean.' Cf. *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.* i (1891), 162. The Mykenean objects from the Ionian islands in the museum at Neuchâtel there cited (p. 164) have in the meantime found a parallel in the tombs of Kephallenia, discovered and described by Wolters, Bulle and Noack: *Alt. Mitth.* xix (1894), 486-490. Strangely enough, these writers seem not to be aware of the existence of the objects in Neuchâtel.

<sup>31</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1895, 240 (provisional notice).

<sup>32</sup> Last discussed by Studniczka, *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* 1894, 1296. Freeman, *Hist. Soc.* vol. i, pp. 20, 101, 472 etc.

<sup>33</sup> Holm, *Gesch. Sic.* i, 360 has summarized the evidence.

these researches, and chronological data gathered from the finds have supplied a key to the history of the city and its trade relations. The same is true of Syracuse, where the most ancient and important Greek necropolis, hitherto scarcely touched, has been lately worked out and published with the most exemplary accuracy (Note 27). I cannot here do more than indicate Orsi's manifold discoveries in Syracusan topography and history down to the latest times. Unfortunately Kamarina, Gela, Akragas and Heraklea have not been treated in the same scientific way, and this is much to be regretted on account of the plunder to which these remains are exposed.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand Selinus, a daughter city of Megara, has year after year been an object of attention. Excavations under government conducted by Patricolo and Salinas have laid bare the heart of the city, consisting of an astonishingly regular network of streets and a system of fortifications equal in interest to those built by Dionysios in Syracuse. The newer and remarkable fortifications of Hermokrates, with their bastion-like outworks, covered passages and dungeons, have also been brought fully to the light of day. Besides the temples already known remains of new ones have been unearthed;<sup>35</sup> four new metope slabs<sup>36</sup> attest the existence of temples, now destroyed, which must have been built at some time between the oldest temple on the Acropolis and those of fifth century date on the east terrace, so that our knowledge of the larger sculpture of Selinus has become wonderfully complete. Graves have been removed in great numbers from the two necropoleis of the town, and their contents brought to Palermo. Among these contents are vases numerous terra-cottas, most of them found near a sanctuary in front of the west necropolis dedicated to the underworld divinities, and a very remarkable bronze statuette<sup>37</sup> now unfortunately lost sight of. It is to be regretted that the work of reporting cannot keep pace with the results of such successful activity.<sup>38</sup> Again—the mighty Carthaginian fortifications in the neighbouring city of Lilybaion, as well as the more modest renovations added by the

<sup>34</sup> V. Orsi, *Bull. di pol. ital.* xxi (1895), 85. Excavation at Kamarina, commenced by Orsi in February, 1896, gave a nearly negative result: the necropolis had been thoroughly plundered during the last thirty years.

<sup>35</sup> Admirable new drawings, both of the old temple remains and of those more recently found, have been made by Koldewey and Puchstein, and are probably to appear in 1896 in a work by these authors which will include all the measurable temples and numerous other Greek buildings of Magna Graecia and Sicily. I have included in the index to Duhn's *Beitrag zur Kunst der Griechen*, p. 383, the literature on Selinus up to 1892.

<sup>36</sup> *Mon. dei Louvre*, 2 (1891), to p. 248, 1, 4 (1892, Tav. I-III to p. 958-962. Fragments of others are still unpublished.

<sup>37</sup> Arndt, *Epochenlauf* 569-572 cf. Furtwängler, *Meissner*, 77 note. The figure, which

I saw in 1893 in the Museum of Castelvetro, was found, as I was assured by eye-witnesses, in a 'camera' tomb of the north necropolis of Gela Bagliazzo: the place of the tomb itself was shown me. V. Arndt *Ep. V.* p. 53. In connexion with this discovery of a separate ancient Greek work of art may be mentioned a highly remarkable early archaic relief, representing a Bacchic dance and two Sphinxes. Pais rediscovered this lately in Caltagirone and published it along with some interesting remarks on the towns behind Gela: *Mon. dei Louvre* 16 Giugno 1895.

<sup>38</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1891, 202-220 is the last report embracing the eventful years 1887-1892. The report is somewhat too scanty. Many important points, such as the excavations in necropoleis, are left almost untouched, and others, particularly the fortifications of Hermokrates, are passed over lightly.

Romans,<sup>39</sup> have been by order of the government subjected to a thorough scrutiny and partially laid bare. It was on the same occasion that a splendid series of coloured tomb-stones of the Punic necropolis was discovered. They too, like so many other treasures, are waiting in the Museum of Palermo for publication.

In the Greek districts of the Italian mainland little has been done within the last eight years. The most important results may here be noted. At Locri two Ionic temples of different date were discovered on the same site by Orsi and Petersen, who were happy in obtaining Dörpfeld's collaboration for the reconstruction. These, the earliest Ionic temples of the Greek period on the mainland of Italy, are rich in interesting peculiarities. Considerable portions of figures, representing two youthful riders (possibly the Dioskouroi) in the act of dismounting, came to light and may be assigned to the pediment or pedimental cornice. There were also terra-cottas and vases of local Greek manufacture.<sup>40</sup>

Kroton is a very promising site, and accordingly in December 1886 excavations were begun at Lakinion in its immediate vicinity; they were stopped while still incomplete.<sup>41</sup> Sybaris is not yet identified, for the recent tomb erections of the third century and an interesting Italic necropolis at some distance, near Torre Mordillo,<sup>42</sup> have proved to be false tracks. The arsenal building-works in Tarentum were the occasion of new discoveries from the necropolis; a very important inscription on bronze, probably a *lex municipalis* of pre-Imperial date, was found and secured for the Museum at Naples, and interesting separate finds occur from time to time in the modern town. The most splendid ancient object hitherto found at Tarentum, a silver plate with gilding and relief ornament of the finest Hellenistic art, has been happily bought for the Provincial Museum at Bari by M. Mayer, who in 1895 was appointed Director of that Museum. We may hope that his presence at Bari will supply valuable help to Jatta, and we hope to hear of real scientific work being done in this much neglected region. Velia, on the west coast, hitherto almost unknown and inaccessible, has been examined and mapped out by W. Schleung.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Part of these (portus and turrets) are shown by a recently found inscription to have been founded or at least renewed by S. Pompeius. *Not. d. sc.* 1894, 388-391.

<sup>40</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1890, 248-262. *Ant. Denkm. des arch. Inst.* i (1890), Taf. 51, 52. *Rom. Mitt.* v (1890), Taf. VIII p. 166-227. A fresh publication by Koldewey and Puchstein is about to appear.

<sup>41</sup> Reports: *Eighth Annual Report of the American Institute of Archaeology* (1887), 42-46 and *American Journ. of Arch.* iii (1887), 181-182. A visitor to the spot receives an impression of excavations systematically begun and then—by a somewhat hard application of the legge Pucca—suddenly broken off. Koldewey

and Puchstein's survey will reproduce as much as is possible of the form and outline of the temple, removed by Bishop Lucifero in the sixteenth century. It is much to be regretted that these excavations were not continued by Italian enterprise, the more because eight pieces of pediment sculpture in white marble, of fifth century date, some of them very fine, are known to have been found. Most of these, as well as the numerous architectonic ornaments, bronzes and terra-cottas found in the excavations, have been unfortunately lost sight of.

<sup>42</sup> Pigorini and Pasqui, *Not. d. sc.* 1888, 239-268. 462-480. 575-592. 648-671.

<sup>43</sup> *Archaeol. Jahrb.* iv (1889), 161-195 with map.



Discoveries in Campania, except at Pompeii and Naples, have not been made under government control and are so scanty that we can only suppose that the most promising necropoleis are nearly exhausted.<sup>44</sup> Only the necropolis at Kyme, so important in its bearing on Italic civilization, has been further excavated by E. Stevens and the results incorporated in his collection. The absence of adequate reports is a great drawback. Hardly another spot in Italy so well deserves a cartographical and archaeological treatise on the lines of Cavallari and Holm's *Topografia archeologica di Siracusa* or Cavallari and Orsi's *Megara* or Brizio's *Marzabotto*.

In Naples the sanitary engineering works have furnished valuable material for the topography and history of the city, and a few tombs have been found, among them one of special interest dating from early Imperial times and richly decorated with plastic work. In Pompeii private houses have been laid bare and interesting separate discoveries made from time to time and exactly reported by Mau in the *Römische Mittheilungen*, but with the exception of the substructures of the so-called Greek temple,<sup>45</sup> excavated by the Baden expedition of 1889, no new public building has been brought to light. The discovery of a handsome villa near Boscoreale<sup>46</sup> is however interesting, the more so because on the thirteenth of April last year it was found to contain sets of about forty gold and silver vessels with rich and peculiar ornamentation, a kind of echo of Alexandrian magnificence. By the liberality of Rothschild these objects have found their way into the Louvre.<sup>47</sup>

Rome is still inexhaustible and would demand a whole chapter to itself.<sup>48</sup> Since 1887 three new Museums of antiquities have been instituted. The department of Roman topography threatened to become unmanageable, but now that there is a lull in building operations it will be brought into order by means of Lanciani's map of the city, shortly to appear.<sup>49</sup> We may hope for a complete investigation of the Palatine since the Villa Mills, covering the House of Augustus and the Temple of Apollo, has become state property; the so-called Stadium of Domitian, which was in connexion with these

<sup>44</sup> A *resumé* of the history of Campania in accordance with the more recent archaeological discoveries, which I read at the Philological Convention at Trèves in 1879 (*Éphémérol.* p. 141-157), deals with the more important parts of the subject, and appeared recently in Italian in Tropea's *Rivista di storia antica* i. 3, 21-59. I have tried to make this new edition serviceable and to bring it as near as may be to the present standpoint of science by means of alterations and enlargement of the text, and by the addition of copious notes and literary references.

<sup>45</sup> F. Duhn and Jacobi, *Der griechische Tempel in Pompeii*, Heidelberg, 1892, cf. Mau, *Röm. Mitth.* vi (1891), 255-266.

<sup>46</sup> Mau, *Röm. Mitth.* ix (1894), 349-358. *Nouv. d. sc.* 1895, 207-214.

<sup>47</sup> Provisional report on and publication of

some of the principal pieces: *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts* 1895 (xiv, 3), 89-104 (H. de Villefosse). An adequate publication of this magnificent find will shortly come out in the *Monuments et Mémoires* of the Fondation Piot.

<sup>48</sup> A reference to the many interesting numbers of the *Bull. municipale* and to the admirable and detailed reports by Hulsén in the *Röm. Mittheilungen* may here suffice. The most recent is carried down to the year 1892. *R. M.* viii (1893), 259-325.

<sup>49</sup> Lanciani, *Excav. arch. Romae*. Published *consilio et auctor. R. Acad. Lincearum*; scale 1:1000 Milan. Hoepli. Between 1893 and the present date two numbers have appeared. Cf. Hulsén, *Rheisch. Mus.* xlix (1894), 380-351.

palace buildings, has been uncovered in the form given to it by Septimius Severus and published, with a reconstruction, by Mariani and Cozza;<sup>50</sup> light has been thrown on some important questions of detail in the topography of the Palatine and Forum, and, lately, of the Quirinal, more especially by the works of Gatti, Lanciani and Hülsen.

The correct dating of the Pantheon and exact determination of its form have led to new and surprising conclusions; Petersen has the merit of having successfully worked up buildings like the Ara Pacis and the Arch of Constantine—the Arch of Trajan in Beneventum may be mentioned in this connexion—which are important specially on account of their carved ornamentation;<sup>51</sup> the Column of Marcus Aurelius has been lately investigated and published afresh, with the most happy results;<sup>52</sup> the great inscription on the *Iudi saeculares* being itself important enough to demand a separate acknowledgment.<sup>53</sup> Time fails us to give particulars of all the separate discoveries which have corrected and completed our image of the ancient city, but mention must be made of Hadrian's villa, so long a dark spot in archaeology, now admirably investigated, drawn and described by Winnefeld.<sup>54</sup> In collaboration with Count Cozza Winnefeld has also worked up Alatri, the ancient town of the Hernici.<sup>55</sup> In 1885 Lake Nemi furnished to Lord Savile valuable reminiscences of the sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis<sup>55a</sup> and within recent days its depths have yielded up a brilliant relic of early Imperial times, namely parts of a gala ship which must have belonged to one of the emperors.<sup>55b</sup> Terracina, long isolated and neglected, now made more accessible by means of the railway, has furnished a surprise, for the lower buildings on the steep height above the town, formerly supposed to be of East Gothic origin, and even fancifully called the royal seat of Theodoric, proved to be terraces supporting a temple whose site afforded a wide prospect of sea and land. It is not certain to whom the temple was dedicated.<sup>56</sup>

The increased facility of communication in the interior of central Italy, which in its turn has widened the sphere of local study, the solid groundwork formed by the ever-growing *Corpus Inscriptionum*, the greater importance given to ancient history in the University Scheme of Education—all help to

<sup>50</sup> *Mon. di Lincei* v (1895), 17-84 with 4 plates, cf. also F. Marx, *Archaeol. Jahrb.* x (1895), 129-143.

<sup>51</sup> *Röm. Myth.* ix (1894), 171-228; x (1895), 138-145 (ara Pacis). iv (1889), 314-339 (Arch of Constantine). vii (1892), 239-264 (Arch of Trajan in Beneventum).

<sup>52</sup> *Archaeol. Anz.* 1895, 91: 1896, 2-18. The whole column will shortly be published by Bruckmann from excellent photographs by Anderson, with letterpress by Calderini, Domaszewski, Mommsen and Petersen.

<sup>53</sup> Barnabei and Marchetti. *Mon. di Lincei* i, 3 (1891), 601-616. Mommsen *loc. cit.* 617-672 and *Ephe. epegr.* viii, 225-309. *Der Nation* 1891 Dec. 12 = 111-122 of the reprint Berl. 1894.

<sup>54</sup> Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli*. Berl. 1895 (Erganzungsheft III of *Archaeol. Jahrb.*).

<sup>55</sup> *Röm. Myth.* iv (1889), 126-152 with 2 plates. vi (1891), 344-355.

<sup>55a</sup> Now in the Art Museum at Nottingham: Wallis, *Illustrated Catalogue of Class. Antiq. from the Set of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy, descr. by Lord Savile*. Nottingham 1893. 20 plates. V. *Not. d. sc.* 1895, 424-435.

<sup>55b</sup> Barnabei, *delle scoperte di antichità nel lago di Nemi. Relazione a S. E. al Ministro della pubbl. istruz.* Roma 1895, 361-396. (Reprinted in the *Not. d. sc.* 1895, 361-396.)

<sup>56</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1891, 96-111. *Röm. Myth.* x (1895), 86-90.

further the labours of those who are entrusted with local departments of research, and the results attained, though small (for but few public school-masters undertake such work), are good and encouraging. Persichetti's *Viaggio archeologico sulla via Salaria* (Rome 1893) and Gabrielle Grasso's *Studi di storia antica e di topografia storica* (Ariano 1893) are bright spots in a surrounding darkness, for, thanks to the Bourbon regime, men like Nino in Solmona, G. and A. Jatta and Michele Lacava are exceptional in the southern half of the peninsula.

As I have said, cremation graves of the pre-Etruscan Italic population have come to light all over Etruria; Veii, Bisentium and other places on Lake Bolsena, Vulci, Volterra,<sup>57</sup> Florence<sup>58</sup> (within the modern city) are a few examples among many. The Etruscan period can now, thanks to Milani's excellent system of arrangement, be profitably studied in the Etruscan Central Museum in Florence. Material for study pours in, especially from Vetulonia,<sup>59</sup> but Corneto, Vulci, made accessible by means of Gsell's fine publication on Torlonia's excavations of four years ago (Note 4), and the inland districts, all take a conspicuous place in the record of finds, as do also the regions immediately to the east, influenced by Etruscan culture, e.g. Todi.

The riddle of the Etruscan language still waits solution, but the connexion between old Etruscan and old Ionian art is every day becoming clearer,<sup>60</sup> in fact an anti-Phoenician reaction has set in and even seems likely to be pushed to excess. In Bologna too, and the surrounding district, new discoveries have added distinctness to our conception of the Etruscan period,<sup>61</sup> as is proved by the rooms recently opened in the Museo civico.<sup>62</sup>

It is matter for special congratulation that the prison fortress in the Reno valley, Marzabotto, rightly called an Etruscan Pompeii, has by the joint activity of the government and Count Aria, been thoroughly surveyed, at least as far as the remains are uncovered and not washed away by the river Reno.<sup>63</sup> Brizio's work gives evidence of his marvellous diligence and

<sup>57</sup> Ghirardini *Rendic. dei Lavori* 1895, 176-181. (Topographically very important.)

<sup>58</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1892, 453. *Bull. di pal. d.* xix (1893), 55. 114. 345-346.

<sup>59</sup> Isidoro Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua acropoli antichissima*. Florence 1891. Small folio with 19 plates. A very useful summary of what has hitherto been accomplished, chiefly owing to Falchi. More recently: *Not. d. sc.* 1893, 496-514. 1894, 335-360. 1895, 22-27 and 272-317. The appearance of a second, more 'genuine' Vetulonia has been the occasion of a five years' literary polemic. For this controversy c. Petersen's digest: *Rom. Myth.* x (1895), 79, 1. The latest controversial utterance (on Colonna's side) Isid. Falchi, *La tradizione di Vetulonia e gli avanzi di Vetulonia, e di Volterra*, appeared in Florence in September 1895.

<sup>60</sup> F. particularly Petersen's essay on the

bronzes of Perugia: *Rom. Myth.* ix (1894), 253-319, the newer treatises on the so-called 'Caele' vases and analogous kinds, the Aphrodite statue from Orvieto, newly published for Brunn by Korte, *Archäol. Stud.* (1893) Taf. I and in addition my remarks in *Berl. phil. Wochenschr.* 1893, 1552 and those of Furtwängler *loc. cit.* 1894, 80, and *Meisterzw.* 633.

<sup>61</sup> Chronology. c. Duhn, *Atti e mem. d. R. Dep. di stor. p. l. prov. di Rom.* iii, viii (1890), 1 18. Brizio, *Mon. dei Lavori* i (1890), 250. Ghirardini, *Atti e mem. loc. cit.* x (1892), 227-265.

<sup>62</sup> Montelius, *C. cels. primit. in Italic* i, 459-494 pl. 100-106. Latest review and useful summary of literature.

<sup>63</sup> Brizio, *Mon. dei Lavori* i (1890), 219-422 and 10 plates, cf. also Montelius, *C. cels. primit. in Italic* i, 495-520 pl. 107-110.

penetration. The history of Marzabotto, probably the Misanum of the ancients, is sufficiently well known. It only begins in the middle of the sixth century B.C. (remains of the temporary huts used while the town was building have been found) and ends rather early in Keltic times, thus covering a period of not more than two and a half centuries. It is interesting to come upon a city laid out by rule, with symmetrical alternation of principal and smaller streets, an admirable system of drainage-pipes and water-supply, houses with 'Roman' ground-plan and other features corresponding exactly to what has been brought to light in the old Italic pile-settlements of the Po valley, in Selinus and Solus, and in the fifth century remains of the Piræus, Thurii and other places. Marzabotto reproduces the form of those old Italic dwellings which supplied to the Etruscans a model of a regular ground-plan, but the form is improved in accordance with the higher stage of culture and stone technique resulting from Greek influence. Two hundred years later the Rome burnt by the Gauls looked very different from this. Rome could not cease to grow when a fixed space had been filled, and even in pre-Etruscan times had begun to spread irregularly beyond the central 'Roma quadrata' doubtless originally laid down on a geometrical plan.

In other parts of the Po country, leaving out of account the early period of which I have spoken, the history of Keltic and Roman times has been opened up in various directions. For instance the Keltic tomb stratum in the Bologna district<sup>64</sup> has been successfully demonstrated, a valuable series of architectural and sculptural remains has been found in Verona<sup>65</sup> and an important necropolis in Piedmont, besides the Gallic and Gallo-Roman necropolis of Ornavasso,<sup>66</sup> which last formed the subject of a treatise by the late Bianchetti. In close analogy to the barbaric, probably Longobardic, necropolis of Testona<sup>67</sup> in Piedmont, we have a magnificent find from Castel Trosino near Ascoli in Picenum<sup>67a</sup> and others similar in Rome. One of Rossi's last works dealt with a discovery of this kind.<sup>68</sup> Nor must we forget the four years' campaign on the snowy heights of the great St. Bernard pass, where excavations were carried on with success by Ferrero with the partial aid of Castelfranco. Structural remains, coins and other objects of interest have enlightened us on the history and direction of the trade roads from north to south and on commercial relations in Roman and pre-Roman times. The evidence afforded by this and other Alpine passes clearly justifies us in rejecting the theory of Etruscan barter with the north.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Brizio, *Atti e mem. d. R. Deput. di stor. patr. pr. le prov. di Romagna* iii, v (1887), 457-532. Montelius, *Civiltà. prind.* i, 521-532 pl. 111-113.

<sup>65</sup> Milani, *Le roccanti scop. di antich. in Verona* (Ver. 1891) = *Röm. Mitth.* vi (1891), 285-331. Ghirardini, *Nuova Antol.* 1891, 677-688. Orsi, *Not. d. sc.* 1891, 5-17.

<sup>66</sup> Bianchetti, *I sepolcreti di Ornavasso* (one Keltic, the other Roman). Turin 1895, with

26 plates (= *Atti d. Soc. di antich. e belle arti di Torino* vi).

<sup>67</sup> *Atti d. Soc. di antich. e belle arti di Torino* iv (1883), 17-52 Tav. I-IV.

<sup>67a</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1895, 35-39.

<sup>68</sup> *Bull. comm.* xxii (1894), 158-163.

<sup>69</sup> *Not. d. sc.* 1890, 294-305 (Ferrero). 1891, 75-81 (Castelfranco). 1892, 63-77. 1893, 33-47. 440-450 (Ferrero). c. Duhn and Ferrero, 'Le monete galliche del medagliere dell' Ospizio del

One word must be said of Sardinia. For many years Tamponi has been hard at work on the Roman Olbia, and of late attention has been attracted thither by the discovery of a remarkable cemetery analogous to that of the *officiales praetorii* near Carthage.<sup>70</sup> More to the south government excavations in the Punic necropoleis of Nora and Sulci, both of them rich in silver and gold, have increasingly elucidated the subject of the older period characterized by Greek import. Meanwhile the splendid remains at Tharros are falling a gradual prey to private enterprise or private greed.<sup>71</sup> Cagliari has lately made some chance finds the means of enriching our knowledge of Roman and early Christian times. As to the actual period of the Sardi, research seems to be at a stand. We can only hope that Filippo Nissardi, probably the most experienced connoisseur in Sardinian antiquities, may soon find time and means to make public his rich collections and varied knowledge.

I have subjected your patience to a considerable strain. I can only allege in excuse the pleasure it has given me to indicate, however slightly, the happy completion of some schemes and commencement of others which were still *in nubibus* when I spoke to you at Zürich eight years ago. I have tried to show how a determined effort, the aim kept well in view, has won and developed a more or less complete conception of earlier civilization in Italy and has filled in accurate details of settlements and cities. In this way the first steps have been taken towards a really scientific historical geography of Italy. The Italians, true to good old tradition and led by their own generosity and sound judgment, have opened a field to workers from Germany and other countries, but most of the work has been done, and will continue to be done, by themselves. Twenty or thirty years ago Italy was indebted to Germany in many departments of science. A change has been brought about by the new birth of Italian nationality, and Germany, once the pupil, again the schoolmaster of Italy, is now more truly ranked among her warmest friends.

F. VON DUHN.

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Gran San Bernardo'. *Memorie della R. Accad. d. scienze di Torino* xli (1891), 331-358, 2 Plates. 70. Duhn, 'Die Benutzung der Alpenpässe im Alterthum: *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.* ii (1892), 55-92.

71 Each volume of the *Norae* contains full reports by Tamponi. Report on the new cemetery *Nor. d. sc.* 1895, 47-96. Material is so abundant that he has already edited a *Sillap.*

*epigraphica Olbense* of his own. (Sassari 1895.)

72 To avoid any misunderstanding I must here clearly state that Dr. Pischedda of Oristano is only doing service to science by saving what he can for his private collection so generously opened. With regard to Tharros, the blame lies on the indifference and negligence of those whose duty it was to supply necessary supervision and scientific control.

POMPEIAN PAINTINGS AND THEIR RELATION TO HELLENIC  
MASTERPIECES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RECENT  
DISCOVERIES.

FROM August, 1894, till the middle of last year, the explorers of Pompeii were employed in excavating the house of A. Vettius, a house distinguished among its fellows by its sumptuous marble fittings and lavish decoration, and still more so by the splendid series of brilliant frescoes with which its walls are still adorned.

According to the official plan, the position of the house should be defined thus:—*Regio VI., insula 12.*

It lies opposite the *Casa del Labirinto*, close to the north-east of the *Casa del Fauno*, to the south of the third tower of the North Wall, counting from the Gate of Herculaneum eastwards. It possesses no *tablinum*, but a very fine peristyle, the Corinthian columns of which have not (as is usually the case) flutings filled for one-third of their height with stucco painted red or yellow. There is much marble, statuettes, fountains, &c., with the pipes for their supply, and the authorities have wisely resolved to leave everything *in situ*, taking special precautions for the preservation of the paintings.

In May last, when the excavations were still in progress, a report on this Pompeian house was laid before the Berlin Archaeological Society, by Herr Herrlich, to which I am indebted for some information as to the decoration. He considers this to belong in part to the Third Style, comparing the wall-decorations of the peristyle and other portions to those depicted in Mau's *Geschichte der Dekorativen Wandmalerei* (Tafeln x., xv., xvi., and xviii.).

According to Mr. FitzGerald Marriott,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, 'All the walls in this house are decorated in varieties that range themselves near the middle of the IV. style.' This does not, of course, imply that the house itself was necessarily a late building, but that, like most other Pompeian structures, it was repaired and redecorated after the earthquake of A.D. 63.

A few of the pictures seem to have been removed in antiquity. Several, however, remain, and are especially interesting. For, following in Helbig's footsteps, even if at a humble distance, we may perhaps be able to arrive at an idea as to their *genesis* and to trace with some measure of success their descent from masterpieces of Hellenistic or even earlier times.

The following is a list of the principal pictures on the walls of the house,

<sup>1</sup> *Facts about Pompeii*, p. 61

identified as that of Anlus Vettius by the discovery of two seals and a ring<sup>2</sup> engraved with his name:—

Achilles in Scyros.  
 Herakles and Auge.  
 Urania.  
 Leander swimming to Hero.  
 Theseus deserting Ariadne.  
 Cyparissos.  
 Contest between Pan and Eros.  
 The infant Herakles strangling serpents.  
 The death of Pentheus.  
 Dirke and the Bull.  
 Daedalus and Pasiphae.  
 Ixion on the wheel.  
 Dionysos discovering Ariadne  
 Perseus and Andromeda.  
 A seated beardless Zeus.<sup>3</sup>

Of the above fifteen subjects, three at least—the Dirke, the Herakles, and the Pentheus, all to be found in the splendid chamber on the south of the peristyle—are derived from the mythical history of Thebes. Whatever grounds there may have been for the dull, boorish character assigned to the Boeotians by their quick-witted neighbours of Athens, no city but Thebes could boast itself the birthplace of two Olympian gods;<sup>4</sup> and Thebes supplied the great dramatists with some of their most famous themes. Thus, while Pentheus is the leading character in the *Bacchae*, Alkmene and Dirke were also both celebrated by Euripides in other dramas; and we may perhaps fairly assume that it is to the influence of that poet that we owe this remarkable group of works of art, a veritable trilogy ‘presenting Thebes.’

On the left wall of the *oculus*, which lies to the left of the *peristylum*, is depicted the familiar scene of the infant Herakles strangling the serpents (Fig. 1). Almost in the centre of the foreground the hero kneels with right knee on the ground; not on a couch as in a red-figured vase of the severe fine style,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Details as to these will be given in my paper on the House of A. Vettius, to be published by the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>3</sup> For details as to these and other paintings in the House of Vettius, see the above mentioned paper. For an account of the unique representation of the process of coining, see my

paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896, Part i.

<sup>4</sup> Θήβας λέγεις μοι τὰς πόλιν ἐπαστόμους  
 οὐδὲ μόνον τίκτους αἱ θνηταὶ θεούς.

Soph. *Fragm.* 778.

<sup>5</sup> *Gazette archéologique*, 1875, pl. 14.

and on a hydria from Capua.<sup>6</sup> He is in build very far from a mere infant; he is a child older even than the ten months assigned to him by Theocritus.<sup>7</sup>

In each hand he clutches one of the serpents, who are not yet so utterly *hors de combat* as represented by Philostratus.<sup>8</sup>

The right half of the picture is occupied mainly by the somewhat unwieldy form of a seated Zeus, identified by the attendant eagle, and possibly



FIG. 1.

by the columns of an Ionic temple, seen in the background. Behind the throne is the startled Alkmene, with hand outstretched in amazement and dismay.

<sup>6</sup> *Monumenti* xi. 42, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *δεκάμηνον ἔδοντα*, *Idyl.* xxiv. 1. Pindar, *Nem.* i. 35, 36, and 49, seems to place the

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incident immediately after the birth of Herakles.

<sup>8</sup> See below, page 146.



On the extreme left is a male figure, too slight and youthful for Amphitryon; probably he is a mere attendant.

Herakles strangling the serpents, the prelude to his famous 'Labours,' was a favourite subject with artists of every kind.

In 1868 Heydemann was able to enumerate seventeen extant representations of the story in marble or bronze, besides frescoes, vase-paintings, gems, and coins.<sup>9</sup>

From the die-engravers of Thebes,<sup>10</sup> where the myth was at home, it soon passed eastwards to form the alliance type of Samos,<sup>11</sup> Ephesos,<sup>12</sup> Rhodes, and Cnidus; and at the same time westwards to Croton, when the cities of *Magna Græcia* formed a federation to defend themselves against Dionysius of Syracuse.<sup>13</sup> It appears too on the coins of Zacynthus and Lampsacus.<sup>14</sup>

Potvin<sup>15</sup> tells us how the subject was treated in terra-cotta, and we may be sure it was not neglected by the sculptors of the sensational school. At all events Pausanias<sup>16</sup> speaks of a statue on the Athenian acropolis.<sup>17</sup>

Herakles and the serpents are thus described in the *Imagines* of the younger Philostratus:—<sup>18</sup>

'You sport, Herakles, you sport and laugh already at this struggle, and this too when still in your cradle; and seizing the serpents sent by Hera one in each hand, you take no heed for your mother, who stands by frightened out of her wits. But the serpents hang exhausted, letting their coils fall to the ground, and bending to the child's hands their heads, showing something of their teeth; and these are sharp and venomous, and their crests by reason of death droop different ways, and their eyes do not see; and their scales no longer bloom with gold and purple, nor glitter with the changing movement, but are palish yellow, and livid in the blood-red part. If you look at Alkmene, she seems indeed to be recovering from her first dismay, but she mistrusts what she now sees, and her terror has not allowed her to remain on her couch, though her child was so recently born. For you see how she has leapt from her bed without sandals, and with nothing on but a tunic, with her hair dishevelled, and how she stretches out her hands, and cries aloud, and the handmaids that were with her when the child was born are talking away each to her neighbour in great fear. But here are armed men and one ready with sword drawn; these are the leaders of the Thebans bringing help to Amphitryon. And he, as soon as he was told of the matter, drew his sword and rushed on the scene to ward off the danger; and I do not know whether he is

<sup>9</sup> *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1868, p. 33, note 7.

<sup>10</sup> Early in the fourth century, according to Head, *Coins of the Greeks*, p. 15. Gardner places the type even before 451 B.C., as well as after, *Treatise of Greek Coins*, iii. 18.

<sup>11</sup> On the obverse is ΣΤΞ. Gardner, *op. cit.* xvi. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.* xvi. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Head, *op. cit.* p. 39; Gardner, *op. cit.* v. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Gardner, *op. cit.* viii. 1. and xvi. 8.

<sup>15</sup> *L'antiquaire*, p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> i. 21, 2.

<sup>17</sup> Among the numerous works of art on which this subject occurs may be mentioned the fanciful capital of a pilaster at Pompeii itself; the cover of a mirror from Corinth (see Mylonas, *Μυθ. Ἀθ.*, 1878, p. 266, Taf. x.), in which the position of the serpents is unusual; and an askos in the British Museum (Fourth Vase Room, Table-case E, no. G 50).

<sup>18</sup> vi. Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Σπαργάνοις.

struck with dismay or is delighted: for his hand is still ready, but the thought that lies in the eyes puts a curb on his hand, as he has nothing to ward off, and he sees the state of affairs requires the provision of an oracle. On this side too is Teiresias close at hand, foretelling I fancy the child's future greatness, and he is painted as if inspired, and as breathing forth the breath of prophecy.

A personification of the night too, on which all this took place, is inserted in the painting; she is lighting herself up with a torch in order that the child's victorious struggle may not be without witness.'

The same myth occurs, though somewhat rarely, on vase-paintings;<sup>19</sup> it is found, in relief, on a South Italian red-figured vase at Berlin.<sup>20</sup> On the vase of severe fine style mentioned above, Herakles is seen strangling two serpents on a couch, from which Alkmene (on the right) is hurriedly lifting Iphikles. Behind her is a bearded man. On the left is Athena with spear, but no helmet or shield. A maiden stands on the extreme left.

There is a slight difference in the rendering of the scene on the Capuan red-figured hydria of early fine style, published in the *Monumenti*, xi. 42. Here Iphikles is left on the couch, on which Herakles is strangling the snakes. Behind him is Athena, armed with spear and helmet. From the left comes Amphitryon to the rescue, with sword drawn.

The red-figured crater in the British Museum<sup>21</sup> is crowded with figures arranged in a totally different way. Herakles and Iphikles are on the ground, the serpents are not in the same position as before; Zeus and Alkmene are seen on the left.

Comparing the vase of severe style with the Capuan hydria and the group on a Cyzicene coin,<sup>22</sup> Prof. Furtwangler<sup>23</sup> suggests as a common original the painting by Zeuxis described by Pliny.<sup>24</sup>

Most important is Pliny's statement<sup>25</sup> that the strangling of the serpents was deemed by Zeuxis worthy of his pencil. 'Magnificus est et Juppiter ejus in throno adstantibus diis et Hercules infans dracones strangulans Alcmene matre coram pavente et Amphitryone.'

The Juppiter of Zeuxis 'in throno adstantibus diis' may be illustrated by a picture at Pompeii, described by Heydemann in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1868.<sup>26</sup> In this instance Athena is present, and other deities appear in a separate picture, placed on the wall above the representation of the infant hero and his mortal kin.

In Helbig's *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv erschütteten Stadt* there is a description of a picture from Herculaneum (No. 1123) of the infant Herakles kneeling and strangling a serpent with each hand. Behind him is the

<sup>19</sup> Miss J. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 411.

<sup>20</sup> Furtwangler, *Beschreibung*, 3866.

<sup>21</sup> In Fourth Vase Room, wall-case 66, no. F. 479; *Catalogue of Vases*, iv. Pl. XIII. See A. S. Murray, in *Classical Review*, 1888, p. 327.

<sup>22</sup> *Naturalistic Chronicle*, 1887, p. 83. Plate

III. 14.

<sup>23</sup> In Roscher's *Lexikon*, col. 2222.

<sup>24</sup> *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 63.

<sup>25</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> P. 33. Taf. 4. See also Sogliano, *Le Pitture antiche campane*, no. 493.

terrified Alkmene. On the right sits Amphitryon, bending forward with an expression of terror, in the act of drawing his sword.<sup>27</sup> Opposite him, on the left, stands a bearded man, probably a Paidagogos or, possibly, Teiresias, who holds in his arms the infant Iphikles, and looks down at Herakles with alarm.

In our newly-discovered painting Zeus has taken the place of Amphitryon, and Iphikles does not appear on the scene; but on the whole we may consider the picture as one more variation of the same archetype, and that archetype may have been a work of Zeuxis.



FIG. 2.

On the right-hand wall of the same *oecus* stands another member of the Theban series (Fig. 2). Like the Pentheus it far surpasses the Herakles in dramatic grouping. The formidable figure of the bull, rearing wildly over the fallen Dirke, forms an impressive centre to a striking composition. The

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Pindar, *N. m.* i. 52, ἐν χερσὶ δ' Ἀμφιτρυῶν κολεοῦ γυμνὸν τινάσσων φάσγανον.

moment chosen is much the same as in the case of the 'Toro Farnese,' immediately before the bull is started on his wild career. The attitude of the principal personage, on the other hand, is very different.

In the Farnese group<sup>28</sup> she clasps Amphion's leg, and rises in front of the rearing monster, who is kept in check on each side by one of the twin brothers. In our picture Zethos holds her fast while she is bound to the raging beast, who rises over her head and threatens to crush her with his hoofs; she stretches both hands away from the other figures. In fact, the pose is more like that on the medallion of Severus, where Dirke lies beneath the bull, one brother being in front of him, the other behind.

For a monumental illustration of the myth of Dirke one looks naturally, in the first instance, to this great plastic work of Apollonios and Tauriskos, the renowned 'Farnese Bull,' which exercised undoubtedly a great influence on the treatment of the myth in a later age, and may perhaps afford a clue to the relations of our newly discovered fresco.<sup>29</sup>

Let us now, however, turn to the painters.

Before the discovery of our fresco several wall-paintings were known depicting the fate of Dirke.<sup>30</sup> One at Pompeii and another at Herculaneum,<sup>31</sup> like the one before us, represent the moment immediately before the bull was let loose.

This is one of the two main classes into which these representations of the legend may be subdivided.<sup>32</sup> A later and less frequent phase, when the bull drags Dirke dead or dying—'Ducitur in multis mortem habitura locis'—<sup>33</sup> was represented in two Pompeian frescoes<sup>34</sup> and also on a red-figured Apulian Krater, now in the Berlin Antiquarium.<sup>35</sup> Of these Dilthey, writing in 1878, says: 'There are only three monuments known, which belong to this class.'

On the right of this vase-picture is a cave, in which the kneeling Lycus is seized by the shoulders by Amphion and Zethos. Close by stands Antiope.

On the left, outside the cave, the bull tramples on the lifeless form of Dirke. In the centre Hermes looks down on the scene and stays the up-lifted sword that threatens Lycus. The broken branch attached to Dirke's hair illustrates the fragment of Euripides—

εἰ δέ που τύχοι  
πέριξ ἐλίξας εἶλκε...όμοῦ λαβῶν  
γυναιῖκα πέτρῃν δρυὶν μεταλλάσσων ἀεί.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> It must be remembered that this is much restored, and not altogether correctly. See Friederichs-Wolters, *Bausteine*, 1402.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the Naples Cameo. See *A.Z.* 1853, p. 90, Taf. lvi. See also Sogliano, *Il supplizio di Dirce*, *Atti dell' Accademia di Archaeologia Napoli*, 1895, vol. xvii.

<sup>30</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 457.

<sup>31</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1151 and 1152. In the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1878, Dilthey

(p. 14, note 8, c.), says Helbig is wrong in marking 1152 as no longer existing.

<sup>32</sup> See Dilthey, *loc. cit.* p. 45.

<sup>33</sup> Propertius iv. 15, 40.

<sup>34</sup> See Taf. 7 of *A. Ztg.* 1878.

<sup>35</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Abb. 502; *Arch. Ztg.* 1878, Taf. 7; cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, 3296.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted by Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 221, from Longinus, *De Subl.* 40, 4.

The appearance of Hermes as a *Deus ex machina* is quite Euripidean. If the cave which is found in some of these pictures is intended to represent the spot mentioned by Pausanias,<sup>37</sup> where the twins Amphion and Zethos were exposed, we have here also a suggestion of scenic origin. There is in fact little room for doubt that in this, as in many other cases, a drama by Euripides was the basis on which the pictorial rendering of the myth was founded. The artist then who succeeded in establishing the type in a pictorial form so excellent as to be copied over and over again must be sought in an age when the influence of Euripides still prevailed, as in the earlier decades of the fourth century, when the elder Aristides was the leading painter of the Theban School.

The myth of Dirke is of a local Bocotian stamp, and suggests a Theban artist. One specially Theban artist, Aristides, is known to us through the pages of Pliny.<sup>38</sup> The awful punishment of Dirke was a theme well suited to his powers; for he seems to have painted scenes of terror, of slaughter, and of death;<sup>39</sup> and if we are to make a guess as to the creator of the type of Dirke we had better hazard the name of Aristides 'the Theban.'

The vase-painter and his more important brethren of the panel and the fresco undoubtedly availed themselves of their artistic license to vary the scheme of the legend, especially by introducing more characters on the scene than was permitted by the strict laws of Attic tragedy.<sup>40</sup> But with regard to Dirke, the *Antiope* of Euripides lay at the base of their most ambitious efforts. Fragments of this play have come down to us;<sup>41</sup> it was imitated in Latin by Ennius, or more probably Pacuvius;<sup>42</sup> and Hyginus<sup>43</sup> gives the plot, the *dénouement* of which forms the subject of our picture.

The reliefs on the columns of the temple at Cyzicus raised in honour of Apollonis by her dutiful sons, Eumenes and Attalus,<sup>44</sup> are no longer extant. We have, however, a later representation of the story on a medallion of Septimius Severus, struck at Akrasos. Through the kindness of Mr. Barelay Head I have had the opportunity of examining this medallion, and I find that the subject is not treated in the same way as in the work of Apollonios and Tauriskos. Dirke lies on the ground, just raising herself on one arm, completely under the bull, to which she is fastened. Of the two brothers, Amphion and Zethos, one holds the bull by the nostrils, the other is behind. No other person is present.<sup>45</sup>

Besides this there are mentioned by Eckhel as bearing representations of Dirke's fate a contorniate and a large brass of Caracalla struck at Thya-

<sup>37</sup> i. 38, 9.

<sup>38</sup> *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 98-100 (where, however, Pliny confuses two persons of the same name; Aristides 'the Theban' was really father of Niomachos, and grandfather of a younger Aristides; see Oemichen, *Pliniansche Studien*, p. 234).

<sup>39</sup> See Woltmann and Woltmann, *History of Painting* (Eng. edn.), p. 51.

<sup>40</sup> See Robert, *Bibl. und Livl.* p. 36.

<sup>41</sup> See Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. sec., pp. 410-126.

<sup>42</sup> See Vogel, *Sonnen euripideischer Tragödien*, p. 59, 'Statt Ennius ist Pacuvius zu lesen.' Cf. Ribbeck, *Trag. Lat. Rel.* p. 279; and Röm. *Trag.* 281.

<sup>43</sup> *Fab. 8.* It is to be noted that in Hyginus, 'Ducen ad turum erinibus religatam necant.'

<sup>44</sup> *Anthol.* iii. 7.

<sup>45</sup> See *Archaeol. Ztg.* 1853, Taf. lviii.

teira,<sup>46</sup> and Mionnet <sup>47</sup> speaks of a coin of Alexander Severus showing the twin brothers, one of whom seizes Dirke by the hair. This also belongs to Thyateira, which was supposed to have an hereditary connection with Amphion through his marriage with Niobe,<sup>48</sup> though according to some her husband was another Amphion, son of Iasos, king of Orchomenos.



FIG. 3.

These coins of Thyateira may probably be indebted for their type to some local monument.

The vase-painting and the frescoes provide us with two distinct representations of two different moments of the same action—one before, the other

<sup>46</sup> *Doct. Num. Vel.* iii. p. 122.

no. 990.

<sup>47</sup> *Descr. des Médailles antiques*, iv. p. 172.

<sup>48</sup> *Apollodoros* iii. 5, 6.

after the dragging of Dirke by the bull. Both were probably inspired by a *Phæsis* of Euripides; both may well have formed parts of a pictorial cycle by the same artist, in some shrine near the fountain that bore Dirke's name.

If the artist was Aristeides we can account for their appearance in Italy, for we know that some of his pictures were brought over to adorn the Roman temples. At Rome they would be seen by the Roman *dilettanti*, many of whom had villas on the Campanian coast. Some of these doubtless were admirers of Euripides and may naturally have chosen to decorate their dwellings with subjects derived from that poet's works.<sup>49</sup>

The subject represented on the central wall of the *oecus* is the death of Pentheus, who is the chief figure (Fig. 3). He kneels on his left knee, the right leg being stretched forwards and outwards. His chlamys floating behind him leaves body and limbs bare, except just round the neck. His body is seen to the front, his head turned slightly upwards and to the right as he casts an imploring glance on the assailant, probably his mother Agavè, who has seized him by the hair with her left hand, and has raised her right, grasping her thyrsus as a javelin; she plants her right foot on his outstretched thigh, just as Athena tramples on Enkelados. With his right arm Pentheus vainly tries to check her onset. His left arm, bent upwards to his head, is seized by another maenad of more girlish type. The flowing drapery of both these maenads, especially of the first-named, is excellently rendered, the limbs and curves of the body being suggested beneath.

The drawing is not altogether free from fault,<sup>50</sup> but the composition and the expression of living action are worthy of the highest praise. The colouring, we are told,<sup>51</sup> is delicate and harmonious. In the foreground lies a spear, as if fallen from the second maenad's hand. Above the principal group thus symmetrically arranged appear the upper portions of three female figures. Those in the angles brandish torches and darts, which, though their heads are not visible, are probably intended for *thyrsi*. The central figure of the three raises with both hands above her head a large stone, ready to dash it on the head of Pentheus placed beneath. It is the supreme moment when Agavè and the sharers of her frenzy have swooped down on their luckless quarry:

λαβοῦσα δ' ὠλέναις ἀριστερὰν χέρα,  
πλευραῖσιν ἀντιβᾶσα τοῦ δυσδαίμονος,  
ἀπὸ πρῶτης ὤμων.<sup>52</sup>

In October last Mr. Marriott, the author of *Facts about Pompeii*, showed me photographs of five of the chief pictures in the House of Vettius. Finding these photographs were not to be had in London, I sent to Naples for them.

<sup>49</sup> We learn from Sogliano, *Il supplizio di Dirce*, p. 2, that, besides Dirke's gold armlets and bangle, the colours blue, red, and purple appear on the drapery. It is, of course, impossible to decide how far these are due to the copyist, and how far to Aristeides, who, according to Pliny (xxxv. 98), was 'durior paulo in coloribus.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Agavè's right foot is much larger than her left: and the right arm of the other maenad seizing Pentheus is shapeless.

<sup>51</sup> See Marriott, *Eng. Ill. Mag.* Jan. 1896, p. 455.

<sup>52</sup> Eurip. *Bacchæ* 1125-27.

In the meantime (on December 5th) the President of the Society of Antiquaries exhibited one, the Pentheus, and drew attention to its very modern look.

So modern is it in tone that one might fancy Pentheus a saint and martyr; and, on the other hand, if it were possible to account for their aggressive hostility, we might take his pursuers to be angels. For the voluptuous display of the nude, so characteristic of Hellenistic art, and still more so of the art of Pompeii, is here markedly absent, as far as the female figures are concerned. Pentheus indeed is naked, save for a fluttering chlamys, but his five assailants are almost fully draped. The original then, of which this Pompeian fresco is a remote descendant, should be sought apparently not, as in most cases, in the Hellenistic period, but in a comparatively early age, yet in an age when the principles of composition and draughtsmanship were already fully grasped. Such an original *may* have been the one mentioned by Pausanias<sup>53</sup> as forming part of a series of pictures decorating a temple of Dionysos near the theatre at Athens. There were two temples of Dionysos close together, as there were two celebrated images of the god: one the Eleuthereus, probably the ancient wooden cultus-image; the other the statue by Alkamenes, of gold and ivory. The pendant to the Pentheus was a representation of the similar penalty inflicted on Lycurgus, who like Pentheus ventured to outrage the powerful deity. With these were other Dionysiac subjects, the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus, the Desertion of Ariadne by Theseus, and her falling into the hands of Dionysos; two scenes recurring in the House of Vettius, and often elsewhere in Pompeii.<sup>54</sup> We cannot tell in which temple these were to be found. Miss Harrison thinks they were 'in the later and larger of the two,'<sup>55</sup> which probably sheltered the splendid chryselephantine work of Alkamenes; we must not forget, however, the extreme veneration always felt by the Greeks for the rude *xoana* of primeval sanctity, which may well have led to a rich adornment of the older shrine.

Unfortunately Pausanias gives us no hint as to the treatment of the myth of Pentheus in this painting. Nor, strangely enough, have we any other guide to help us as to its pictorial rendering, unless indeed we can rely upon the elder Philostratus. This dubious authority, in his *Imagines*,<sup>56</sup> professes to describe a picture as follows: 'The subject of this painting, my son, is what happened on Kithairon, the dancing Bacchanals, rocks full of wine, nectar from the grape-clusters, and earth making her clods fat with milk. See too, there is creeping ivy, and upreared snakes, and the leafage of the thyrsus, methinks, dripping honey. Here too you have the pine-tree lying on the ground, a great work wrought by women inspired by Dionysos; it has

<sup>53</sup> i. 20, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Since writing the above, I have lighted on Helbig's opinion (*Untersuchungen*, p. 256) that the original of these pictures of Ariadne was the painting in the temple of Dionysos, mentioned by Pausanias. Helbig adds (p. 257)

that such scenes as the Pentheus in that temple could not be earlier than the time of Zeuxis and Parrhasios.

<sup>55</sup> *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 256.

<sup>56</sup> i. 17.



fallen and shaken off Pentheus among the Bacchanals, in whose eyes he seems a lion. But they—his mother and her sisters—are tearing their prey in pieces, some wrenching off his arms, and she dragging her son by his hair. And Dionysos himself looking down on them stands with a face full of wrath, goading on the frenzied women. Nor do they see what it is they are doing, and when Pentheus implores their pity they cry out that it is a lion that they hear roaring.'

Here, as Jahn has remarked,<sup>57</sup> we have two distinct scenes. If, however, it is not really the description of an actual picture (or pictures), at any rate it tells us plainly enough what a Greek of Imperial times thought a suitable pictorial treatment of the Death of Pentheus.

It must be remembered that Flavius Philostratus lived in the first half of the third century of our era, and may possibly have seen the same painting that Pausanias had described not so very many years before. Beyond this I know little of pictures representing the fate of Pentheus. Till the other day no such picture had been brought to light, either at Herculaneum or at Pompeii. This is not a little strange, if we consider the popularity of the myth in the literature of Hellas in both poetry and prose. It cannot, indeed, boast the literary antiquity of the companion legend of Lykourgos, which is found in the *Iliad*,<sup>58</sup> though in an episode perhaps rather late. With the earlier dramatists, on the other hand, it was a favourite theme; Suidas mentions a *Pentheus* among the plays of Thespis, and fragments remain of a trilogy by Aeschylos in which Pentheus was a central figure. Of later tragedians Iophon, the younger Xenokles, Herakleides, and Lykophron are said to have treated of the same story.<sup>59</sup> It was Euripides, however, as far as we know, that gave to this subject the prominence that it certainly attained and kept throughout classic times. It was the *Bacchae* of Euripides that supplied the hymn of triumph<sup>60</sup> with which the head of Crassus was brought among the revelling Parthians.<sup>61</sup>

In the version thus established by the authority of Euripides, Pentheus, refusing to acknowledge the divinity of his kinsman Dionysos, is led to play the spy on his mother Agavè and her maenad sisters, who, inspired with frenzy by the outraged god, rend in pieces the impious intruder, in the belief that he is a wild beast. His own mother tears off his shoulder.<sup>62</sup>

Theocritus (270 B.C.), who generally treads in the footsteps of the older poets,<sup>63</sup> slightly varies the words of Euripides by making Agavè seize her son's head, while Ino, aided by Autonoe, plants her feet on his belly and tears off his shoulder.<sup>64</sup> So, too, Ovid<sup>65</sup> makes Autonoe and Ino rend off their nephew's arms, while his mother, Agavè, after hurling her thyrsus, tears his head from his body, taking him for a wild boar.

<sup>57</sup> *Pentheus und die Maenaden*, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> vi. 130-140.

<sup>59</sup> Vogel, *Sechsa-euripidischer Tragödien*, p. 112. Cf. Ribbeck, *Die Römische Tragödien*, pp. 280, 281.

<sup>60</sup> *l.* v. 1170 seq.

<sup>61</sup> Plutarch, *Crassus*, 33.

<sup>62</sup> *Bacchae*, v. 1127.

<sup>63</sup> See Fritzsche, *Argumentum of Idyl.* xxvi.

<sup>64</sup> xxvi. 20-24.

<sup>65</sup> *Metamorphoses*, iii. 712-728.

By the time of Nero the boar has become a calf:—

‘Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo  
Bassaris’—<sup>66</sup>

but the rending in pieces remains.

Apollodorus<sup>67</sup> (140 B.C.) gives the tale with less of circumstance:—

Πενθεὺς . . . . ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀγανῆς κατὰ μανίαν ἐμελείσθη.

Pausanias,<sup>68</sup> writing in the middle of the second century of our era, also relates that Pentheus was torn piecemeal, adding a story as to the tree he had climbed being cut up to make images of Dionysos.

His fate is similarly alluded to by Lucian in his *Piscator* (2), *Adversus Indoctum* (19), *De Morte Peregrini* (2), and *Saturnalia* (8).

In the time of Athenaeus, A.D. 190, the old warlike Pyrrhic dance, with spear and shield, lingered among the Spartans alone. Elsewhere it had assumed the character of a Bacchic ballet. The words of Athenaeus<sup>69</sup> are worth quoting:—‘The dancers are provided with *thyrsi* instead of spears. . . . They represent in their dancing the adventures of Dionysos and the Indians, and also the story of *Pentheus*.’

Here we have a definite statement that spears were *not* used by those who represented the assailants of Pentheus. Yet the spear in the foreground of our picture would appear to belong, not to Pentheus, who was unarmed, but to the Bacchante on his left.

So, too, on marble reliefs, as that in the Giustiniani Palace, represented in the *Denkmäler* of C. O. Müller (ii. 437) and Baumeister (p. 1205, fig. 1397), the death of Pentheus is brought about by tearing him literally limb from limb.

On a vase given by Müller,<sup>70</sup> Pentheus is threatened with a sword by a woman, presumably Agavè, who has seized his arm. On the Munich vase (No. 807)<sup>71</sup> a sword and a torch are, for the sake of variety, added to the *thyrsi* used in attacking Pentheus, but there is no spear.<sup>72</sup>

The introduction of the spear then would appear to be a modification of the original scheme as we may suppose it to have stood in the shrine of Dionysos to the south of the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>73</sup>

If Pausanias has given us no clue to this original composition of the Pentheus group, he aids us as little as to its date. Could we assume that the picture was in the later of the two temples of Dionysos, and that it was

<sup>66</sup> Persius i. 100; part of four lines supposed to be quoted from Nero.

<sup>67</sup> iii. 5, 2, 2.

<sup>68</sup> ii. 2, 7.

<sup>69</sup> xiv. 631.

<sup>70</sup> *Denkmäler*, ii. 436. See Jahn, *Pentheus*, Taf. i. a.

<sup>71</sup> See O. Jahn, *Pentheus*, Taf. ii. a; and Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Abb. 1396.

<sup>72</sup> Single figures of Pentheus and Agavè are to be found on gems (see A. H. Smith's *Catal. of Gems in the Brit. Mus.*, nos. 1081 and 1082), but these do not help us as to the grouping.

<sup>73</sup> Prof. Percy Gardner has called my attention to a maenad holding a spear, not thyrsus, on a late monument, Stephani, *Ausruhende Herrules*, pl. I. See also Sandys, *Bacchae*, p. cxv.

for this temple that Alkamenes made his statue, we might fix as a *terminus post quem* the latter portion of the fifth century. In the absence of any such certainty it is of course possible that the work belonged to the time of the great mural decorations executed by Polygnotos and his immediate disciples; in which case it would have been a more or less statuesque arrangement of comparatively isolated figures, very different from our Pompeian group.

Considering, however, the new interest in the Theban legend that must have been aroused by the production of the *Bacchae*, we may well prefer to assign the painting to a later artist, whether it stood in the older or in the newer shrine. Euripides died in 406 B.C., and the play was produced at Athens after his death, at a time when the art of Zeuxis must have been at its zenith. Like his predecessor Apollodoros and his rival Parrhasios,<sup>74</sup> Zeuxis stood no doubt under the tragedian's influence. A connecting link between the two great geniuses is known to have existed. They both enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Archelaos of Macedonia.<sup>75</sup> Euripides, once a painter himself, would be drawn to his fellow-artist, while the wild luxury of Bacchic frenzy would form an appropriate subject for a leader of the Asiatic school.<sup>76</sup> It would be quite natural, therefore, that Zeuxis, if commissioned to adorn the temple of Dionysos with his paintings, should choose as the subject of one of them the eminently pictorial death of Pentheus, as described by Euripides. Nothing, it is to be observed, is said as to these being wall-paintings, though they may well have been so.

In the temple of Aphrodite, according to the scholiast on Aristophanes,<sup>77</sup> there was an Eros crowned with roses, from the pencil of Zeuxis. If this sanctuary, as seems probable, was that of 'Aphrodite in the gardens,' there stood beside this picture a famous statue of the goddess by the hand of Alkamenes.<sup>78</sup> May we not then reasonably suppose that Zeuxis was also associated with that sculptor in adorning the temple of Dionysos?

The descent of our Pompeian picture from that archetype at Athens is of course entirely conjectural.<sup>79</sup> In any case it is both an interesting work of art and a valuable illustration of ideas, once no doubt viewed with considerable repugnance by the more old-fashioned among the Greeks.

Yet although Dionysos may flee for a while before the wrath of such conservative potentates as Lycurgus, nevertheless in the end the divine power prevails. 'Not long-lived is he who fights with immortals,' says Dione, 'nor do children at his knees call him father when returned from war and fearful strife.'<sup>80</sup>

<sup>74</sup> See Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 35.

<sup>75</sup> Aelian (*V. H.* xiv. 17), quotes Socrates as saying that Archelaos commissioned Zeuxis to decorate his palace, and paid him a fee of £1,400.

<sup>76</sup> Zeuxis was probably an Asiatic Greek. Klein has shown that he cannot have been a native of the Lucanian Heraclea, as that was not founded till 432 B.C., while Aristophanes mentions a picture of his in the *Acharnians*

(vv. 991-2), which play was acted in 426.

<sup>77</sup> On v. 992 of the *Acharnians*. The scholiast's words *ἐν τῇ ναφ...ἐγγραφει*, suggest that the wall itself was painted, not that a picture was brought from the studio to be fixed upon it.

<sup>78</sup> See Pausanias i. 19, 2.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 256, 257. See *ante*, p. 153, note 51.

<sup>80</sup> Homer, *Iliad* v. 407-409.

As with Lycurgus so with others who opposed Dionysos—

Quales his poenas qualis quantusque minetur,  
Cadmeae matris praeda cruenta docet.<sup>81</sup>

With reference to the reciprocal relations of these paintings it has been observed that they have in common a Theban foundation. Two of them have the same mountain, Kithairon, for a background, and the Bacchic thyrsus appears in each. In these two also it is the central figure who meets with a frightful retribution for outrage committed against those dear to Zeus; while in the third, though the offspring of Zeus is again triumphant, we cannot assign to the sufferers so important a rôle.

Sogliano indeed in his recent monograph on the Dirke<sup>82</sup> suggests a moral parallel in the three pictures, finding in each the idea of vengeance manifested in punishment. Yet it seems hardly appropriate to apply such terms as vengeance and punishment to Herakles killing a couple of snakes, even though they have tried to kill him; for no vengeance reaches Hera who sent them. Perhaps the general idea of death would be nearer the mark, connected with the fruitlessness of warring against the will of Zeus. But is not the parallelism rather one of outward appearance? Are not the pictures arranged so as to correspond in size and position, and also (approximately) in the number and grouping of figures? This has been found to be the case elsewhere in Pompeii, as has been remarked by Trendelenburg.<sup>83</sup> Such symmetry is, in fact, an essential principle of Classic Art.

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<sup>81</sup> Tibullus iii. 6, 23, 24.

<sup>82</sup> *Il supplizio di Dirce*, p. 8, note 1.

<sup>83</sup> See his 'Gegenstücke in der Wandmalerei,' *Archaeol. Zeitung* 1876, p. 2; also 'Der innere

Bezug zwischen Gegenstücken,' *ib.* p. 79. See too the remarks on external similarity with a view to selection of pendants in Woltmann and Woeismann, *op. cit.* p. 138.

## THE MEGALITHIC TEMPLE AT BUTO.

## HERODOTUS II. 155.

‘IN this city of Buto there is a sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis. The particular temple of Leto, which was described as the place of the oracle, is itself, I found, large and has a stair ten fathoms in height. But in what was visible to me, the most astonishing thing was this: there is in the enclosure there a temple of Leto, wrought from a single stone in respect of height as well as of length, and each wall equal to these [stones]. Each of these [stones] is of forty cubits. And for the covering in of the roof there is another stone imposed, having a superstructure (?) of four cubits’. *ἶρον δέ ἐστι ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ ὁ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιέων· τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον φράσω· ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἐς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος· καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοις ἴσος· τεσσεράκοντα πῆχων τούτων ἕκαστόν ἐστι· τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπικέεται λίθος ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.*

This passage has an interest greater than its mere subject, and seems to demand a more exact attention than has commonly been bestowed upon it. We may not indeed feel much concern about the details of a building in the Delta not apparently of the first importance. But it is a question of some magnitude for the student of antiquity, whether Herodotus was or was not a reckless liar; and we cannot limit more narrowly than this the issue presented by the above description together with the current expositions of it. That the text is genuine there is no reason to doubt; and the attempts to get rid of the problem by conjectural emendations are as unsatisfying as they are arbitrary. The interpretations of it offer us a choice. Herodotus, it is held, here asserts that he saw at Buto a cubic monument of stone measuring about seventy feet, of which the material was either (1) a single block, or (2) four enormous slabs, with a second (or fifth) stone for the roof.

To prove that he did not see any such monument, nor any which by honest mistake he could suppose to be such, we need not appeal either to the general conditions of mechanical art, nor to the evidence of existing remains as to the limit of Egyptian achievements in this kind. Herodotus, if he meant what has been supposed, may be sufficiently exposed and refuted out of his own mouth. In the 175th chapter of this same book he expressly

states that, in the size of the stones employed, all builders, so far as he was aware, had been surpassed by the gigantic buildings and decorations, at Sais and elsewhere, attributed to King Amasis: and he describes with minute accuracy the particular specimen which most impressed him. This was an oblong block of stone, measuring in its greatest dimension about thirty-five feet, and hollowed out, so as to make a chamber, with walls something less than two feet thick. It was brought down the river from Elephantiné, an operation which extended into the third year and occupied 2,000 men. It was to have been placed in the sanctuary of 'Athené' at Sais, but that design was not completed; for when it had been tugged as far as the entrance, there were signs of discontent and rebellion, which, as Herodotus puts it with quaint humour, raised in the king's mind a 'religious scruple'; and the block remained outside. Whatever be the value of the anecdote, the description of the chamber, as Herodotus saw it *in situ*, is no doubt correct. Existing monuments show that the Egyptian gangs could have accomplished as much as this, or perhaps a little more; though the narrator justly reckons it a prodigious example of profuse and patient labour. But if he had seen at Buto such a structure as he has been supposed to represent, his astonishment at Sais would be itself astonishing and absurd. Taking even the less miraculous view which gives the building five stones, the slab which formed the roof must on any estimate have weighed many times as much as the chamber of King Amasis. Yet the builders (it would seem) not merely brought this slab down to the neighbourhood of the coast, but coolly lifted it seventy feet or more into the air, and put it on their structure like a lid. Even to erect the monolithic walls, allowing for the thickness which they would need to be stable, was a feat compared with which the performance of Amasis was child's play. The whole thing grossly exceeds the limits of possibility, as defined by the author himself. Nor can he be excused on the ground of inadvertence. The account of the sanctuary at Buto is manifestly shaped with the intention of assuring the reader that the describer was cautious and observant; he discriminates with a precision, which, if not genuine, must be deliberately fraudulent, between what was and what was not within the view permitted to him. If then, for the pleasure of raising a momentary wonder, he could in this fashion put forward a circumstantial falsehood, it is really useless to estimate his authority. If Herodotus said this, his assertions, as such, are absolutely worthless,—a somewhat uncomfortable conclusion.

It is therefore satisfactory, so far at least, to see, as upon closer consideration we must, that whatever the words of the author may mean, they will not bear either of the meanings which have been put upon them. As to the first supposition (if indeed it is worth notice), to imagine the temple as carved out of one block, though it might seem to satisfy the words *ἡὸς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος*, leaves all the rest of the description, the 'stones' of forty cubits and the 'other stone superimposed,' unexplained and senseless. Nor is the alternative any more admissible. If the meaning were that each wall of the temple was a single block or slab, it would have been

quite easy and simple to say so. But in that case *the temple* was in no sense 'made from one stone', nor could it be said with sense that 'each wall was equal to these stones',<sup>1</sup> when in fact the stones actually were the walls.

Since then Herodotus happily has not made either of the statements suggested, it remains to discover, if possible, what he did mean. Now one thing may be remarked. Though both the interpretations propounded assume that, in ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος 'wrought from a single stone in respect of height as well as in respect of length', the preposition ἐξ (*from*) denotes the material *of* which the temple was made, and although this assumption is consistent with common usage, it is hard to see how it can possibly be right in this place. For if 'made from a single stone' refers to material, what is the relevance of the addition 'in respect of height as well as in respect of length'? Material has no concern with dimensions; whatever is in this sense 'made from one stone', is necessarily so made in respect of all its dimensions. And the objection is increased by the particular dimensions specified. If it were said that 'the temple is made from one stone in length and *breadth*', this might perhaps pass for a singularly clumsy way of expressing the fact that its walls, both the longitudinal and the *latitudinal* (so to speak), were monolithic. But to specify *length* and *height*, and these alone, seems on this supposition not useless merely or awkward, but simply unintelligible. Surely therefore we must suppose that, since ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος cannot here bear its ordinary sense consistently with the context or with a sane meaning, the writer must have used it in some exceptional sense, the other, from its manifest impossibility, never even occurring to his mind. And another sense is easily found. The preposition ἐξ, used with reference to an operation such as building, may point to the material, but also may not. It may refer to the starting-point from which we commence, as for instance in the phrase ἐξ ἐδάφους, *from the foundation upwards*. And if we give this meaning to ἐξ, we can see at once the purport of the added words of dimension. A building would be 'wrought' or 'constructed *from* a single stone in respect of length', if, counting the courses of masonry horizontally or lengthwise, the first and lowest course was a monolith. And it would be so constructed 'in respect of height', if the end of the wall, the first course counting vertically, was a monolithic pier. The temple is described by Herodotus as so constructed in respect of both these dimensions or directions, that is to say, its walls stood upon monolithic sills, and were also terminated by monolithic piers. *From* these sills and piers, that is to say, starting from them as a given framework, the temple was 'made' or 'built' in the usual way, and of blocks comparatively small. And this will explain, what upon any other supposition seems to me incomprehensible, what the author means by saying that 'each wall of the temple is *equal*

<sup>1</sup> It is surely obvious that τούτων and τούτοις refer to the same things, that both therefore signify *the stones*, and that ἴσος τούτοις cannot mean anything but 'equal to these stones.' The attempts which have been made

to avoid this, e.g. by the rendering 'each wall is equal *in these respects*', viz. height and length, are desperate in grammar. Neither do they touch the main difficulty, that the meaning thus violently extracted is itself absurd.

to these stones'. The monoliths determined the dimensions of the walls, which were equal in height to the height of the piers, and in length to the length of the sills. What struck his eye was in the first place the stately and solid effect given to the building by this framework, and still more the size and mass of the monoliths, which he reckoned to be nearly 70 feet long or high respectively. Nor were even these the most remarkable. So far as appears, he could not enter the building, nor view it otherwise than from in front and at a distance. But even so he was convinced that the architrave, 'imposed for the covering in of the roof', was also a monolith, 'having a projection(?) of four cubits'. From this way of speaking, since the author thus supposes himself to have indicated the length of the architrave, we may infer, what otherwise would not be quite clear, that the building was square, the front, as well as the sides, measuring forty cubits. If then we suppose the 'projection of four cubits' to include, as it may, the projection on both sides, the length of the architrave will be forty-four cubits; if the 'projection' is that on one side only, forty-eight; at the utmost therefore something near eighty feet. In the sills, the piers, and the architrave alike, he gives one dimension only, the long one, leaving the other dimensions, as would be the inclination of an observer not writing technically, to be estimated roughly by the natural and necessary proportions. Something we may perhaps allow for exaggeration on the part of his informant, or deception of his eye; but there is no reason to think that his report is not perfectly honest and true to the appearances. Even a monolithic beam measuring eighty feet (by six feet by six feet, let us suppose) would be no miracle among the buildings of Egypt. But it was enough to inspire awe in a beholder accustomed only to the composite pillars and entablatures of Hellas; and we may well believe that, when Herodotus came to Buto, he had never before seen or fancied anything like it.

In considering the dimensions of the beam, it has been so far assumed that the doubtful word *παρωροφίς* (*superstructure*) signifies, as it naturally might, the 'projection' of the roof beyond the main building, in short the *eaves*. This is disputed, some taking it, partly on the authority of a not very lucid explanation in Pollux, to mean the *depth* of the entablature or of some part of it.<sup>2</sup> The point is of little or no importance, and my reason for noticing the former explanation is only that, upon the whole passage, it seems natural to think that the author means the 'four cubits' of the *παρωροφίς* to determine the measurement of the beam, by reference to that of the other stones already given: if so, the *παρωροφίς* must be its projection. If the *παρωροφίς* be its depth, its length or greatest dimension is not given; for we could by no means assume that it was exactly equal to the breadth of the front.

It will be noticed that Herodotus speaks of this beam as 'set upon (the building) for the covering in of the roof', τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς

<sup>2</sup> τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὀρόφου καὶ τοῦ στέγους Pollux, cited by Blakesley, who however himself recommends the other interpretation.



ἄλλος ἐπικέεται λίθος. These words by no means imply, or even, when possibility is considered, suggest, that the one stone made the roof. But they do. I think, contain a suggestion, which probably occurred to Herodotus as not unlikely, that the roof was supported on a series of such beams, or even composed of such. His whole description of Buto and its sanctuary implies that he had there no advantages as a visitor, and could by no means satisfy his curiosity. The phrase 'what was visible of this sanctuary', twice repeated within a few sentences, savours strongly of disappointment. At the oracle itself he seems to have seen nothing except the objects in an outer enclosure, as they appeared to a person looking in, with the stair of the main temple for a background. Of that which here chiefly caught his eye, the chapel which we have been discussing, he has noted exactly so much as he could thus ascertain, that is to say, the apparent size of its principal stones. And in speaking of these, he has confined himself precisely to those which were actually visible, mentioning therefore the monoliths as running the *length* of the building and also the *height*. Whether there were also *latitudinal* monoliths he does not expressly say, and could not be sure, for the front had probably a door, and the back was out of sight. The whole account, thus considered, so far from impeaching his veracity, shows a strong desire for facts, which indeed appears to have been no less characteristic of him than his love of things extraordinary, though for want of sufficient knowledge his judgment was of course often at fault.

In criticizing the sense which he seems to have put on the expression *πρὸς ἑξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἔς μῆκος*, we must carefully notice, what an English translation necessarily conceals, the protection against misunderstanding which is given by the order of the words. In the English 'made from a single stone', the words 'made from' raise in themselves the notion of *material*, which therefore seems to determine the sense of what follows. But in the Greek *πρὸς ἑξ ἑνὸς λίθου*, on the contrary, the notion of *material* is from the first excluded as inconceivable, a thing so extravagant that, if it had been meant, it must have been represented by an expression incapable of any other sense, for example, by *πρὸς μονόλιθος*, as in chapter 175, where it is meant, it is represented by *οἶκημα μονόλιθον*. As the words stand here, it is natural to take *ἑξ ἑνὸς λίθου* without hesitation in the only sense which makes them credible; and this sense determines that of the sequel. The reason why Herodotus allowed himself an expression which, when recast in English, becomes misleading, is simply that the other never occurred to his mind as imaginable. The case may be easily illustrated in our own language. 'All the Popes ever since the first century, each in the dignity of his tiara and pontifical vestments, run round the interior of the church of St. Paul without the Walls'. Here is a sentence which, though it could not mislead any but a very ignorant reader, suggests a grotesque idea, and would certainly be rejected by a good writer. But arrange it thus. 'Round the interior of the church of St. Paul without the Walls run all the Popes ever since the first century, each in the dignity of his tiara and pontifical vestments', and we have what, if not unexceptionably elegant, is

perfectly clear and inoffensive. It is still, as much as ever, grammatically possible to refer the statement to living Popes, and to suppose them literally 'running' round the church. But a reader, to whom this notion occurred, might well be told by the author that he was expected to know something besides grammar: and the like reply might have been made by Herodotus to a Greek reader who accused him of suggesting, when he wrote *πρὸς ἑξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἑς τε ὕψος καὶ ἑς μῆκος*, that the building described was made of one single block.

It is proper to add that my attention was directed to this passage, and to the need of some better explanation, by Mr. Somers Clarke, now and for some time past engaged, as an architect, in researches among the monuments of Egypt. I have submitted to Mr. Clarke the question, whether it is likely that the temple at Buto was really such as Herodotus, according to my version, describes. He replies in the negative: such a method of building would not be in accordance with the highly conservative practice of the country. He thinks that Herodotus was deceived by appearances, probably by stucco (*gesso*) and painting. This opinion I readily accept, and indeed have not the knowledge which would entitle me to dispute it, even if I were so disposed. It is plain, from the passage itself, that Herodotus had not the power to examine the building closely, or to correct the impression of his eye; and his informants, if he had any, may well have been ignorant, careless, or misunderstood. But there remains the separate question, certainly not less important from a general point of view than that respecting the structure itself: what Herodotus really says about it, what is the opinion into which he was (*ex hypothesi*) misled by appearances. By no *gesso*, painting, or other disguise could he have been honestly and permanently deceived into the assertions which have hitherto been attributed to him. He had, and he shows us that he had, direct testimony (to say nothing of his common-sense) that they were grossly false. But his actual assertion is of another quality. It is, we will suppose, mistaken, but it is not absurd. It is not inconsistent either with the facts of nature, or with any positive knowledge which he can be shown or is likely to have possessed. There is no reason therefore to suppose that he did not honestly believe it, or that he omitted any obvious or accessible means of verification. It is to be added to the list of the numerous and for the most part inevitable errors of his zealous but undisciplined curiosity; it does not tend to show what the current interpretations would prove at a stroke, that he cared not in the least whether he spoke truly or falsely, and that his assertions, all and sundry, must for historical purposes be not weighed but simply ignored.

A. W. VERRALL.



FIG. 1.

## ON A GROUP OF EARLY ATTIC LEKYTHOI.

[PLATES IV.—VII.]

THE white lekythoi represented on Plates IV.—VII. and Figs. 1 and 2 are members of a series, twelve or more in number, all bearing a marked family likeness in style, subject, and inscription. They are of interest to the historian as presenting pictures of Athenian domestic life in the years of peace which followed the Persian War: to the student of sculpture as anticipating in a curious way many of the types and motives of later grave-reliefs: and to the student of vase-technique as bridging the interval between the white-ground kylikes of the 'severe' school and the 'Lécythes blanches attiques à représentations funéraires' on which M. Pottier has written. Here is the list. For the sake of clearness I have placed the inscriptions of the white-ground lekythoi on the left-hand side of the page, those of the red-figured on the right.

- |     |  |   |          |
|-----|--|---|----------|
| 1.  | ΓΛΑΥΚ . Ν<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ<br>ΛΕΑΓΡΟ   | From Attica : much broken. Plate IV. Now at Bonn. <i>Seated lady putting on necklace, and standing figure (maid?).</i> Height originally about 40 m.                    |          |
| 2.  | From Eretria.<br>Athens, 1645. <i>Seated lady opening casket, and standing maid.</i> | ΓΛΑΥΚΟΝ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ<br>ΛΕΑΓΡΟ  | Ht. 31.  |
| 3.  | From ?<br>Oxford, 320. Catalogue, p. 32, fig. 35. <i>Nurse holding child.</i>        | ΓΛΑΥΚΩΝ<br>ΚΑΛΩΞ<br>ΛΕΑΓΡΟ  | Ht. 35.  |
| 4.  | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ Ο<br>ΜΕΛΑΝΟΠ  | From Eretria. Plate V.<br>Athens, 1922. <i>Lady holding toilet-case and maid holding casket, both standing.</i>   | Ht. 30.  |
| 5.  | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ<br>ΜΕΛΑΝΟΠΟ   | From Eretria. Plate V.<br>Athens, 1963. <i>Two ladies, standing, one holding basket of grave-offerings, the other alabastron and toilet-case; between them a stork.</i> | Ht. 40.  |
| 6.  | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ<br>ΜΕΛΑΝΟΠΟ   | From Eretria. Plate V.<br>Athens, 1923. <i>Seated lady holding toilet-case, another standing and holding tray-basket.</i>   | Ht. 36.  |
| 7.  | ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ Ο<br>ΜΗΛΑΝΟΠ  | From Eretria.<br>Messrs. Rollin and Feuاردent.<br><i>Seated lady and standing maid with casket.</i>   | Ht. 37.  |
| 8.  | ΔΡΟΜΙΠΠΟΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ<br>ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙΔΟ  | From Halimus (Pikrodafni). Plate VII.<br>Berlin, 2443. <i>Nurse bringing child to seated lady.</i>  | Ht. 368. |
| 9.  | ΔΡΟΜ[Ι]ΠΠΟΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ]<br>ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙ[ΔΟ  | From Athens.<br>Van Brauteghem Sale Catalogue, 174. <i>Two ladies standing, one holding basket.</i>   | Ht. 36.  |
| 10. | ΛΙΤΑΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ<br>ΞΑΜ[ΙΟ]Υ   | From Athens. Plate VI.<br>British Museum, D 50. <i>Seated lady, and standing maid with basket of offerings.</i>   | Ht. 36.  |

On all these white-ground lekythoi (1 and 4-9) the flesh is represented by white added on the yellowish-white ground. This is not the case with the two which follow.

- |     |                                   |   |         |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|---------|
| 11. | ΑΛΚΙΜ . ΔΗΣ<br>ΚΑΛΟΣ<br>ΑΙΞ+ΥΛΙΔΟ | From Gela.<br>Oxford, 266. Catalogue, Pl. 20. <i>Two ladies with lyres, one seated, one standing.</i> | Ht. 35. |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|---------|

12. ΑΞΙΟΓΕΙ'/// From Suessula, Campania. Ht. 35.  
 ΚΑΛΟΣ Spinelli Collection, Acerra, *Röm. Mitth.* 1887,  
 ΑΛΚΙΜΑ+// Taf. xii. 5. *Seated lady and standing maid.*

It will be most convenient to discuss them under the heads of

- I.—Inscriptions.  
 II.—Subjects.  
 III.—Distribution.  
 IV.—Technique.

I.—*The Inscriptions.* The common characteristic of the series is the addition of the father's name to the usual 'love-inscription.' An apparent exception is the Lichas vase (No. 10, Plate VI. and Fig. 1), on which the third word has usually been read Σάμ(ι)ος, 'the Samian.' This is possible; at any rate Lichas is not an Attic name. It seems better, however, to read Σάμ'ιοϋ, son of Samios, for several reasons:—

(α) The last letter is ζ and may fairly be completed ζ.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the hastily written ξ on these vases often acquires a somewhat 'lunate' form; but, so far as I know, it is always a blurred zig-zag rather than a plain curve, as may be seen here in the two preceding words.

(β) In all the other three-line inscriptions of this kind the third word gives the father's name.

(γ) That a Lichas should be son of a Samios is peculiarly probable, since, while neither is Attic, both are known as Spartan names.<sup>2</sup>

It is not easy to account for this fashion of adding the father's name, which is the characteristic badge of our series.<sup>3</sup> As the population of Athens increased the use of the patronymic to distinguish persons of the same name would become more necessary. But there may be a further reason. In the case of Glaukon the allusion to his illustrious father would be an additional compliment. In like manner the name of Samios had honourable associations. Herodotos tells how at the siege of Samos in 525 a Spartan named

<sup>1</sup> The form Υ occurs on the kantharos of Epigones (*Annal.* 1850, Tav. H. D) and on the Alkimedes lekythos, our No. 19. For earlier instances of ΟΥ instead of Ο to represent the non-diphthongal ου, see Krietschmer, *Festschrift*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> See for Lichas, Herod. i. 67, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2, 21. For Samios Herod. iii. 55, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. Lichas occurs in other Dorian states; Samios seems peculiar to Sparta.

<sup>3</sup> The only other instance seems to be a

Nolan amphora, E, 330 in the British Museum (*Mon. d. Inst.* i. 9, 3), which has

ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΩΞ  
 ΚΑΛΩΞ  
 ΕΠΙΧΑΡΟΣ

As Wehrle suggests, this Epichares may be identical with one whose name appears on a kylix contemporary with the early work of Euphronios. See also his speculations as to the relationship of this Alkimachos and the father of Axiopithes (No. 11 in the list above).

Archias charged with a single comrade through the gate and fell overpowered by numbers inside the town, where the enemy gave them honourable burial. In memory of his heroic end and of the chivalrous conduct of the Samians a son of Archias received the name of Samios. Herodotos heard the story from a younger Archias, son of Samios, with whom he conversed at Sparta.

As Samios, even at Sparta, was an unusual name, it seems possible that our Lichas belonged to this family; he may have been son of the first Samios and brother of the second Archias. A Samios who commanded the Spartan fleet in 401 would belong to the next generation. We get the following stemma:—

Archias, killed at Samos in 525	Herod. iii. 55.
Samios, born about 525.	
Archias of Pitane, known to Herodotos.	Lichas, a <i>παῖς καλὸς</i> at Athens about 465.

I venture to date the Lichas vases 'about 465,' because the presence and popularity of a young Spartan in Athens would accord admirably with the well-known *λακωνισμὸς* of Kimon,<sup>4</sup> whose power was at its height between 470 and 464. We can hardly imagine such a case after the ignominious return of Kimon's expedition to the aid of Sparta against the Helots—*καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους φανερὰ ἐγένετο*, says Thucydides (i. 102)—still less after Kimon's ostracism, which followed about 462.

This dating harmonizes with the Glaukon-Leagros chronology, which is based on No. 1 of our series, the beautiful fragment reproduced on Plate IV.<sup>5</sup> Leagros was a favourite of the vase-painters about 500 and died in 467. His son Glaukon, who commanded the fleet about 432, is generally supposed to have enjoyed a similar popularity soon after the second Persian war. Now the Lichas lekythos, No. 10, is certainly later in style than the Glaukon fragment, No. 1; but the severe style of a Nolan amphora at Oxford which bears the name of Lichas and the comparative freedom of the two red-figured Glaukon lekythoi, our Nos. 2 and 3, warn us that in a period of rapid transition many different styles are in use together. We shall probably be safe in regarding the earlier Lichas vases<sup>6</sup> as contemporary with the later Glaukon group.

<sup>4</sup> Tangible proofs of it are the facts that he was proxenos of Sparta and called one of his sons *Λακεδαιμόνιος*. Cf. Plutarch's *Cimon*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> After an admirable water-colour by Dr Winter. For permission to reproduce it here I am indebted to the great kindness of Professor Loeschke. The fragment is well known by description (*Arch. Jahrb.* ii. p. 162 Studniczka, *Arch. Anz.* 1890, p. 11 Loeschke, and the collections of Klein and Wernicke).

<sup>6</sup> Klein gives only our No. 10, besides the Nolan amphora from Gela, already referred to,

and a vase of unknown form. Add the following white lekythoi. All agree in the use of added white with our No. 10.

- (a) ΚΑΛΟΣ  
ΛΙ+ΑΣ  
Oxford. *Seated lady holding wreath. Behind her a column, at her feet a duck.* Red-figured shoulder. Ht. 25.
- (b) ΛΙ+ΑΣ  
ΚΑΛΟΣ  
Athens 1913. Found at Athens.  
*Woman offers fruit to youth. Between them a dog.* Ht. 27.

A confirmation of this view is to be found in the love-inscriptions. The Ionic lettering and neat *στοιχῆδον* writing which characterize the Lichas vases only became common about halfway through the period of Glaukon's popularity. The straggling, ill-spelled inscriptions on earlier vases show that it was not until after the Persian wars that education reached the Kerameikos. There are exceptions, from Epiktetos onwards. Pistoxenos, on the Schwerin kotyle which shows Herakles at school, is at pains to exhibit his own schooling in a careful two-line signature.<sup>7</sup> About the same time Duris in another school-scene uses the Attic alphabet with  $\chi$  for the 'love-inscription,' but the Ionic with  $\Omega$  for the fragment of Epic poetry on the roll in the master's hand.<sup>8</sup> We find the converse on a well-known amphora painted some years later. Then the inscription on the base of a tripod preserves the Attic  $\chi$ , still customary in public records, while the 'love-name'  $\Gamma\Lambda\chi\kappa\Omega\chi$  is in Ionic, now the ordinary hand-writing of the artist.<sup>9</sup> On the white kylix at Berlin to which Euphronios put his name as master-potter,  $\chi\chi\chi\kappa\Omega\chi$   $\kappa\chi\chi\Omega\chi$  stands in the old straggling fashion; but on the Acropolis kylix representing the death of Orpheus, in all likelihood the work of the same anonymous painter,

the fragmentary  $\Omega\chi$  seems to represent an original  $\chi\chi\chi\kappa\Omega\chi$   $\kappa\chi\chi\Omega\chi$  written exactly as on the London kylix with the design of Aphrodite riding the swan. We can follow the same fashion and—if Dr. Hartwig is right—the same hand, on two exceptionally large red-figured kylikes at Munich, which bear the inscription  $\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  repeated many times as if for mere decorative effect. At this point the signatures of the great kylix-painters come to an end; but on larger vases we find Hermonax and Polygnotos signing in two lines *στοιχῆδον*, though still in Attic letters. The writing of Epigenes, Sotades, Xenotimos and Agathon shows the gradual advance of the regular Ionic method. A host of vases inscribed with  $\chi\Omega\chi\chi\chi$   $\kappa\chi\chi\Omega\chi$  and the two-line love-inscriptions of Alkimachos, Euaion, Hippon, Hygiainon, Nikon, Polyeuktos, Sophanes, prove how fixed the rule became in the following years.<sup>10</sup> The explanation is that about 475 the concurrent use of two alphabets made

(c) Same inscription. At a dealer's. Found near Piræus.

*Seated lady, to whom maid brings vessel.* Much burned. Ht. 33.

(d) Same inscription. Boston 148. Found at Eretria.

*Two women talking; one holds alabastron and toilet vase.* Ht. 30. It appears from a photograph which Mr. Edward Robinson has been so kind as to send me that this is the vase published by le Vicomte de Caix de Saint-Aymour in *Mém. des Ant. de France*, 6me. série iii. p. 65, Fig. 2. Another vase there described seems to be No. 119 of the Boston Catalogue.

Of these Lichas vases (a) is about contemporary with the Glaukon lekythos (*Jahrb.* ii. p. 163) and uses black relief-lines. (c) closely resembles our No. 10. (d) is freer in style and has the later shoulder-ornament—see Fig. 5 below.

<sup>7</sup> *Annali* 1871, F.

<sup>8</sup> Berlin, No. 2285. *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. 51. *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, Taf. 1.

<sup>9</sup> British Museum, E 298. Klein, *Euphronios*,<sup>2</sup> p. 103.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Gerhard, *A. V.* 189.

$\kappa\chi\chi\Omega\chi$   
 $\chi\kappa\chi\Omega\chi$

systematic teaching necessary;<sup>11</sup> hence the neat *στοιχῆδον* writing became general. Then, as in modern Germany, the neat use of the foreign hand-writing became a mark of superior education, and the Attic alphabet gradually dropped out of use.

Γ and Λ were adopted before Η and Ω. The curious misuse of Η for Ε on our No. 7 shows how insecure was the painter's knowledge of the new characters. It is an ambitious mistake parallel to the frequent misuse of Ω on vases of the same period (ΑΛΚΙΜΑ+ΩΣ, ΚΛΕΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ, ΔΙΩΝΥΣΩΣ and other instances collected by Kretschmer, *Vasenschriften*, p. 107).

II.—*The Subjects.* It is curious to trace the process by which the decoration of the lekythos came to refer almost exclusively to the cult of the dead. The majority of our series, 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11 and 12, show scenes of domestic life and nothing more. The mirror and metal jugs which hang on the wall mark the scene as laid indoors; later they became conventional, and sometimes appear high in air in a tomb-scene. The figures and their attitudes hardly vary: a slight change in the accessories gives the graceful scene a fresh meaning: we see the Athenian lady trying on a new necklace, opening her jewel-box, welcoming her child, playing on the lyre, or conversing with her maid. The toilet-vase, so common in later grave-scenes, might be held in No. 4 to denote preparations for the bath. But in 5, 6, 9 and 10 the trays containing wreaths and sashes are offerings made ready for a visit to the tomb. There need not be any allusion as yet to the ultimate destination of the lekythos on which this scene was so appropriate; it was a natural variation of the common indoor-scene. In Athens, as in some Eastern countries to-day, the visits to the dead and the decoration of the grave were not only among the duties but in all likelihood among the chief interests and pleasures of women who otherwise seldom went abroad. At Athens and at Eretria the novelty seems to have been popular, and painters hit on other and more outspoken methods of dedicating the lekythos to its work. The earliest lekythos with a tomb-scene<sup>12</sup> and the earliest with Charon,<sup>13</sup> though different in style, are shown by their peculiar shoulder-ornament, a triple palmette and two flowers on white ground (transitional between the usual red-figured shoulder and the triple palmette with volutes which appears on most of our three-line series, and is further developed on the later white lekythoi), to be nearly contemporary. We find the same transitional ornament on three white lekythoi at Berlin: the first<sup>14</sup> represents a warrior parting from his wife and child—probably Hector and Andromache; the second,<sup>15</sup> a lady and her maid starting to the grave, a tray on the maid's head containing lekythoi and other offerings; the third,<sup>16</sup> in somewhat later style, a woman and a youth before a low tomb on which are placed a lyre, a casket, and a number of vases. Chronology and style alike

<sup>11</sup> See the remarks of Kretschmer, *Vasenschriften*, p. 104 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* xv. Taf. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Stackelberg, *Gräber*, Taf. 47. Benndorf,

*Gr. u. Sic. Vascul.* Taf. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Cat. 2444.

<sup>15</sup> Inv. 3171. *Anzeiger* 1891, p. 118, No. 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ib.* 3262. *Anzeiger* 1893, p. 93, No. 55.



forbid us to draw a hard and fast line, as was formerly done, between the lekythoi with sepulchral and the lekythoi with domestic subjects. There are several instances of lekythoi evidently painted in pairs, of which one represents an indoor-scene, the other mourners at a grave. In this way the old types of mistress and maid, husband and wife, came to be associated with the idea of death, and even perpetuated in the marble grave-reliefs of the next generation.

III.—*Distribution.* M. Pottier's contention that funeral lekythoi in the strict sense are rarely found outside Attica (and, we must now add, Eretria) still holds good as a general rule.<sup>17</sup> But the fact that the vases of our series have been found not only in Attica and Eretria, but in Sicily and Italy, shows that at the time when white lekythoi with domestic scenes were gradually acquiring a funeral significance, they were still articles of export. The frequency of lekythoi in the graves of Eretria and Gela has led various writers to suppose the existence of local factories. This hypothesis involves great difficulties, not the least of which is the occurrence of Attic love-names at both places. Thus of the Lichas vases enumerated above, two were found near Athens, one at Gela, one at Eretria. We can hardly imagine Gela supplying vases to Athens and Eretria, or Eretria to Gela and Athens. Moreover there are many points of contact between the early lekythoi and certain Nolan amphorae, which it is generally admitted were made in Athens for the Campanian market. This relationship is well illustrated by two white lekythoi found at Gela. The first bears the name of Akestorides,<sup>18</sup> and represents two women with musical instruments; the second that of Timokrates,<sup>19</sup> and represents a mother (Aithra ?) greeting her son. On both white is used for the flesh-parts, as on our three-line series, but the 'love-inscription' is written in a peculiar way characteristic of certain 'Nolan' amphorae, the *καλὸς* horizontally above, the name vertically between the figures.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, in spite of their very advanced drawing, they retain the red-figured shoulder with triple palmettes and double flower which characterizes Nos. 1-3 of our series. Evidently we have here a somewhat different class of white lekythoi, made in a 'red-figured' workshop for export to Gela, where lekythoi were especially popular, as is seen from the fact that two red-figured lekythoi of Attic style have been found there bearing the name of Charmides, which elsewhere occurs only on Nolan amphorae.

A curious testimony to this export trade is furnished by fig. 2, the fragment of a fine lekythos which pretty certainly belonged to our three-line series. It was found by Schliemann in the tumulus in the Troad called Hamai Tepeli, and is now in the Volkerkunde Museum at Berlin. We have the head and shoulders of a woman holding a white toilet-vase like those

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Furtwängler tells me that the Museum at Palermo contains a lekythos from Gela, No. 157, red outlines on white ground, representing a mourner beside a grave-stone.

<sup>18</sup> Van Branteghem Sale Catalogue, No. 171.

and Plate 45.

<sup>19</sup> Ashmolean Catalogue, Plate 20.

<sup>20</sup> Compare e.g. the somewhat earlier Glaukon amphora, de Luynes, Vases Plate XXV., or that at Vienna with the name of Timonides

held by the women on the Diphilos lekythoi. In the upper left-hand corner close to the break there remains the final  $\xi$  of a long proper name, then after a space sufficient for  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  on the missing part, we find lower down the upper tips of two letters, possibly the final  $\Delta$  and  $\text{O}$  of  $\Delta\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\Delta\text{O}$ .



FIG. 2.

IV. *Technique*.—We have seen that the inscriptions and the subjects of our vases exhibit such uniformity as to justify the belief that the greater part of the series proceed from a single workshop. Upon examining their technique we find the same fixity of tradition along with a constant progress in method and design.

The first on our list, the Glaukon fragment (Plate IV.), is the immediate successor of the great white kylikes; like them it is a show-piece produced in a r. f. workshop, and combines the externals of a r. f. vase with a fresco-like painting on prepared ground. In this case the yellow slip is so thin as to take from the clay below it a reddish tone, against which the face, arms, and feet of the seated lady stand out in brilliant white. The chair is purple, the Ionic chiton clear red, and the himation brown with touches of thinned-out glaze-paint for the folds. On her head she wears a close-fitting white embroidered cap; the locks that fall over the forehead are drawn in thinned glaze, the knot that escapes behind in black. The artist has lavished remarkable care upon the delicate lines of the face; in the eye, not yet in true profile, with its long lashes and drooping upper lid, it seems as if he had

sought to portray the languor of a fashionable lady. There is the same suggestion in the drawing of the slender fingers, which hold a necklace, taken no doubt from a casket held by the maid whose left foot alone remains at the edge of the fragment; at sight of it her lips part in a smile of pleasure. The face, beautiful as it is in drawing, is somewhat weak, and the unusual attempt at expression leaves a sense of something like caricature; but it is interesting that the attempt should have been made.

The use of white enamel-like paint to heighten the flesh of women and other details in the picture, has been discussed at length by Weisshaeupl, who published an instance of it, an Eretrian lekythos with a tomb-scene, in *Athen. Mitth.* xv. (1890). This excellent paper has one fault; it leaves an impression that the technique is rare, whereas it is very common on lekythoi of the period 475-445. The eighteen instances which he enumerates as known to him, some of them very insignificant—his nineteenth, the crater in the Museo Gregoriano, is not properly an instance of this technique—might easily be increased to fifty.

With our Glaukon fragment it will be enough to compare a few lekythoi, which in shoulder-ornament and drawing stand, like it, in close relation to r. f. work. Such are:—

British Museum, D. 20, from Gela. *Woman seated on diphros holding lamp.* Pink chiton, black mantle with pink fold-lines. Ht. .35. Inscr. ΚΑΛΕ. Transitional eye, earlier than on the Glaukon fragment.

Oxford, from Eretria. *Woman carrying casket.* Colours like the preceding. Ht. .37. Inscr. ΗΕΓΑΙΣ. Upper eyelid and inner contour of lips given.

Athens, 1929, from Eretria. *Woman preparing tray of grave-offerings.* Described by Weisshaeupl, *l. c.* Ht. .32.

Athens, 1987, from Eretria. *Two women standing with grave-offerings.* Black chiton, red mantle. Toilet-vase, basket, and other accessories in black silhouette. Ht. .32.

The heavy black filling which appears on all these as on Nos. 4-9 of our series is simply a modified survival of the black-figure or silhouette style, which continued in occasional use far into the fifth century.<sup>21</sup> The painters

<sup>21</sup> A good instance is the b. f. lekythos, Athens, 1129, *Lamia tortured by Seleni*, published by M. Mayer, *Ath. Mitth.* ix. 1891. Its peculiar shape and ornament (vine-pattern on neck, very rare) link it with two outline lekythoi which must be nearly contemporary. Athens, 1983, *Amazons*, and 1982, an early *tomb-scene* with white flesh and details in black. In the case of the well-known Dittrephes vase, I cannot agree with Furtwängler, who says (*Masterpieces*, p. 124, Fig. 48): 'The lekythos to judge from its shape is almost contemporary with the red-figured vases of the fine period, and cannot therefore be much earlier than about

450 B.C.' This lekythos is one of a well-defined group, however, identical in shape and ornament, and marking various stages of transition from b. f. to outline technique. They usually have black neck, bars and 1+3+1 palmettes on red shoulder, white body, and very peculiar meander-band as in *J.H.S.* xiii., Plates II. and III., where (1) and (2) are published:—

(1) Athens, 1132. <i>Odysseus</i> and <i>Kirke</i> ,	} From Eretria.
(2) Athens, 1133. <i>Heraclēs</i> and <i>Atlas</i> .	
(3) Athens, 1809. <i>Eros flying among thalys's</i> From Aigina. Dumont, <i>Ceramiques</i> xi.	

of the white kylikes belonged to a school which had emancipated itself from b. f. traditions in the sixth century; they imitated the effect of larger paintings, on which black silhouette was now, we may be sure, disused; hence we find no black-filling on the Glaukon fragment, which is, as I have said, akin in style to these kylikes. On the other hand, the painter of Nos. 4-9 clung to the old habit of enlivening his design with boldly-distributed patches of black and white, using the very materials which he necessarily had by him, the black glaze with which he coated the foot and neck, the fine white slip which he applied to the body and shoulder. To these he added purple, like all his predecessors in the Kerameikos, employing it for such details as a head-band or the folds of a black mantle,<sup>22</sup> and vermilion, with which he picked out the alternate petals of the shoulder palmettes and filled in the Doric peplos of the maid on No. 5. He obtained other tints by thinning his original pigments, various shades of yellow for his outlines from the black glaze, and a pinkish brown, used to express the polished wood of the chairs, from the purple. I emphasize these facts because they show that the lekythos is still a product of the potter's shop and not of a painter's studio; if potter and painter were not one and the same, they were at least fellow-craftsmen working side by side. This goes far to explain the great perfection of form and accessory ornament which distinguishes our series and

These three are b.f. with purple touches.

(4) Vienna, Hof-Mus. 195. *Duel over fallen warrior, woman r. and l.*

Free b.f. : no purple.

(5) Cab. des Méd. *Wounded 'Diotrephes,'* b.f. with helmet and shield left in outline; incised lines even finer than those on the Eros (3), which however is freer in drawing.

(6) Athens, 1827. *Nike flying r. over altar.* From Eretria. Outline drawing, with black accessories. 'Severe' eye. The tendril below her recalls those round the Eros (3).

(7) Louvre. *Bust of woman to r. playing lyre. Columns behind.* Collignon, *Céramique Grecque*, Pl. X. 'Severe' eye.

Of these, (1) and (3) have a projecting black rim on the foot; (2) and (5) have a foot with concave profile; the foot of (4), (6), (7), is a plain disc.

We may find a lower limit for dating this series in the Glaukon lekythos (*Jahrb.* ii. p. 163), which has some affinity in shape and decoration, but is far less severe in drawing. To the same period as the 'Diotrephes' vase I would assign the white outline lekythoi with severe drawing in black relief-lines. The subject is usually a woman preceded by an animal in black silhouette, e.g. :—

Oxford, 265. *Nike and black doe.* From Eretria. Ht. .29. *Ashmolean Catalogue*, Pl. 25.

British Museum, D 23. *Priestess and black snake.* From Gela. Ht. .27.

Athens, 1792. *Woman playing lyre, and black dog.* From Attica. Ht. .22. *Att. Mitth.* xvi., Pl. X. 2.

Louvre. *Artemis (?) and black bull.* From Eretria. Ht. .27.

Compare also :—

Athens, 1964. *Ephēbos putting on greave.* From Eretria. Ht. .30. Described, *Δελτιον*, 1889, p. 76, 5. This figure is contemporary in drawing with the designs ascribed by Hartwig to Amasis; note especially the eye and the beaded edge of the hair on the forehead. It is evident that Furtwangler puts the period of transition too late when he says (*Masterpieces*, p. 124, note 5): 'Just at this time,' i.e. about 450 B.C., 'purely outline designs first make their appearance on lekythoi.' In spite of the weight of his authority I would place the Diotrephes lekythos, with the others which I have enumerated, considerably before 460.

<sup>22</sup> We also find white fold-lines, as on Brit. Mus. D 47 (*Catalogue*, vol. iii. Plate XXV.). I used to believe that this vase, found at Gela, must, owing to its technical and stylistic peculiarities, be a Geloan imitation. But I lately saw a lekythos from Southern Attica which exhibited most of these peculiarities, including the white fold-lines. Same style and period. It is the earliest instance known to me of a tomb-scene—a man and woman before a slender four-step stele, which is painted white.

the succeeding series of early polychrome lekythoi from the later classes—a perfection which endured just so long as the design continued to be executed with the old glaze-paint. The gradual encroachment of other pigments marks the increasing division of work between the potter, who drew palmettes and meander in glaze-paint, and the painter who now sketched his outlines in dull black or red, and filled them in with a wash of palette-colour. In time this division becomes complete separation; the potter leaves even the accessory ornament to the painter, he is a mere journeyman furnishing material to the studio. From this time the lekythoi lose all distinction of form; the body becomes convex and unnaturally slim, the shoulder and the neck are elongated, as though it were wished to increase the apparent size of the whole without enlarging the surface to be covered by the picture. Palmettes and meander become hasty, ragged, and conventional, and their lines no longer show that subtle relation to the surface that they adorn which characterizes ornament on the best Greek work, pottery as well as architecture; so unimportant had they become that on the later lekythoi they are at times left unfinished, as on one of the 'pathetic' type with red outlines at Vienna (Beudorf, *Gr. and Sic. Vaseb.*, Plate XXXIV.), or omitted altogether (Furtwängler, *Berlin Vase Catalogue*, 2680—2682). Even at this stage there remains an indication of their former presence in the girdling lines which framed the meander above and below. These, being made by holding the brush against the vase as it turned on the wheel, were necessarily made by the potter (they are well seen on Plate VI., where the circles close just above the head of the standing woman); and the potter with the conservatism of his class continued to prepare this frame for the meander, always in glaze-paint, after the painter had ceased to use it. On some of the latest lekythoi the design mounts from the body to the shoulder, and is cut horizontally by these now meaningless lines.

The vases of our series belong to the period of glaze-outlines, in which the lekythoi are still an organic whole in shape, ornament, and design. The shape (Fig. 1 and Plate V.) hardly varies. The height generally approximates to one of three standard sizes, '30, '35, and '40. Of these, '35 was the favourite size for elaborate pieces.

The closing up of the neck (discussed by Weisshaeupl, *loc. cit.*: *Brit. Mus. Vase Cat.* iii. D. 48) appears only as a caprice. In the case of No. 5, the air-hole in the lower part of the body is well seen on Plate V. I have also seen vases in which the hole occurred on the shoulder, between neck and handle.

Of the meander-band we have several varieties. On Plate VI. may be seen an early instance of an invention which relieved its monotony. Instead of couplets running to the right divided by cross-squares as on Plate VII., we have couplets running alternately to right and to left, and the cross-square is alternately attached to the upper and lower line.

The shoulder-palmettes appear in three principal forms (Figs. 3-5). Form A differs only from the r. f. scheme (Nos. 1-3 of our series, figured Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 81) in that a double volute takes the place of the

flower at either side of the middle palmette. It appears on 4, 5, 7, and 8 of our series, and by exception on three lekythoi of the fine glaze-outline period, all from Eretria, and now at Athens:—

1818. *Warrior, with eye as device on shield, parting from seated lady.*  
*Bonner Studien*, Plate XI.

1945. *Parting-scene—woman pours wine for youth.*

1943. *Two women preparing to visit the tomb.*

The two latter were evidently made as a pair. This shoulder-ornament is also retained on some of the r. f. funeral lekythoi found at Eretria, e.g. on the fine pair 445 and 446 in the Boston Museum.

Form B (Fig. 4) is an unsuccessful variation; it appears on our No. 6 and on a white funeral lekythos from Eretria, Athens, 1960. It is interesting as showing that at this time the painter had the power of improvising, and it



FIG. 3. FORM A.

suggests by what stages of experiment the more satisfactory design (Form C, Fig. 5), was brought about.

Of Form C, I cannot give an instance among the twelve vases of our series. On No. 11, where we should expect to find it, the shoulder-pattern is obliterated; about No. 12 I have no information. We find it for the first time on the Boston Lichas-vase and on the fine lekythos with Demeter and Kore (Athens, 1754, *Dumont XXXVII.*), which are among the latest instances of the use of white for women's flesh. Broadly speaking, Form A disappeared at the same time as this white-flesh technique and was replaced by Form C. The transition is well illustrated by two vases bearing the love-name of Hygieiaion. The first, which is in the Louvre (from Eretria, ht. .31), has practically the same design as Plate VI., with the difference that the direction of the figures is reversed and the lady sits on a chair instead of a diphros. The chair is brown, the lady's mantle black with purple fold-lines. The maid

wears a red Doric peplos, with folds drawn in dull black, and a red sakkos crossed by a band now blank (once blue?); the contents of the basket which she holds are woollen fillets, like those seen on Plate VI., tied in wreath-shape; just such fillets are seen hung on the lowest step of a tomb on funeral lekythoi of the glaze-outline series. The flesh is still painted white and the shoulder-pattern is still Form A. The better known Hygiainon lekythos in the British Museum (D. 48, from Athens. ht. .37) offers a complete contrast; the patches of white and of black silhouette have disappeared and the drawing has gained in decision and purity. At the same time Form C has taken the place of Form A on the shoulder.

It is not hard to account for the change. The quality of the white engobe had gradually been improved, until it came from the kiln pure white instead of yellow. Possibly this improvement was hastened by the increasing use of delicate palette colours to take the place of the heavy black



FIG. 4. FORM B.

and purple fillings. On a white slip the addition of white pigment was useless, and no doubt potters and painters dispensed with it the more willingly because it was brittle and difficult to work with, having a tendency to scale off when applied in narrow strips or to an irregular contour. This necessitated the blunt and clumsy outlines of face and hands and feet, seen on Plate VI. and Fig. 2. Moreover, when the white paint had been applied it was necessary to send the vase a second time to the kiln before the inner drawing could be added. The potter's art once freed from these conventional trammels, it was an easy step to the pure and graceful outlines of No. 11. At the same time Form C of the shoulder-palmettes was adopted and was retained as a formula almost without modification throughout the later developments of the lekythos.

My debt of gratitude to Professor Loeschke and Dr. Winter I have already mentioned. Mr. Cecil Smith has helped me with many suggestions. I have to

thank Mr. Ernest Gardner for the negative of Plate V., Mr. F. Anderson for the drawing of Plate VII., and Mr. C. R. R. Clark of the British School for the diagrams of palmettes.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

*Athens.*



FIG. 5. FORM C



## INSCRIPTIONS FROM CRETE.

(PROVINCES OF KHANIÀ, KISSAMO, SELINO.)

THE inscriptions which follow were copied during a short tour in the west of Crete during July and August, 1893. So far as I know they are unpublished, but I trust I shall be pardoned if I have missed any previous notice of any of them. I saw and verified all those published in *B.C.II.* xiii. 68 ff. and that in the *Sylogos* at Retimo, *id.* 47. The type used below is selected so as to represent each individual letter as nearly as possible, without regard to the conventional printers' alphabets. The result is an apparent mixture of incongruous forms, which is however largely due to the very irregular lettering actually in use in the remoter parts of Crete in the later Greek periods.

1. On a block of fine-grained blue marble, the base of a stele: 31 cm. high, 40 broad, and 46 long: the back and left side broken: original length at least 70 cm., for the socket for the stele is 22 cm. distant from the perfect (right) side face, and is continued to the left beyond the break. The inscription consists of four elegiac couplets; the first line is cut close to the upper edge of the stone, and is consequently much effaced. The letters average 10 mm. in height and breadth, and are of the third or late fourth century.

In the outer court of the fortress at Khanià: formerly built in, but left loose after recent repairs.

ΛΙΡΑΥΕΞΑΜΗΡΑΜΙΣΟΥΝΟΜΑΠΕΙΣΟΝ  
 ΗΤΑΜΙΜΝΕΤΑΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ  
 Ε]ΩΝΑΡΕΤΑΔΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΥΝΟΜΑΙΜΟΥ  
 ΓΕΥΕΑΣΕΚΚΡΙΤΟΝΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΝ  
 Δ]ΕΔΕΞΑΙΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΟΝ ΕΤΕΚΝΩΣΑΣ  
 Τ]ΤΕΙΣΩΣΕΓΓΟΝΟΝΙΣΘΘΙΟΝ  
 ΣΩΖΟΙΣΓΟΝΟΝΟΝΚΑΤΕΛΕΙΠΗ  
 Ι]ΚΕΤΗΔΟΞΑΝΕΧΟΝΤΑΡΕΤΑΣ

Copied from the stone: 23.7.93. Corrected by squeeze of M. Kalaidákis, who has published the inscription in the *Stamboul paper 'Κορσταντινούπολις'* 24 July (O.S.) 1893, No. 164: emending to *Πείσανδρον* in the first line, against the metre. Line 1.—The mutilated word is apparently *ἔγραψε*. Line 6.—The first letter is π.

2. On a slab of coarse white marble, about 3 cm. thick : mutilated, except at the bottom, which is roughly cut off, and a small space on the left edge where, behind line 3, the back of the stone is rounded off. Letters about 2 cm. high, deeply and cleanly cut. From Kíssamo Kastélli. In the possession of M. Kalaidákis, Khanià. Copied from the stone : 23, 7, 93.

## ΤΕΛΟΣΓΗCΙΛΟ

- ΤΗΠΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΙCΥΛΒΑΛΛΕΤΑΙ . . . . . προ  
 ΙΚΑΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΚΙCΔΑΛΩΙΚΑΙ . . . . . τῶ  
 ΝΓΟΝΕΩΝΑΠΟΔΟΝΤΕC ΚΑΙ . . . . . Διδί  
 5 ἀσφάλειωικαιδίϊκρηταγενει  
 τοιCΑΛΛΟΙCΠΑΤΡΙΟΙCΘΕΟΙCΔΥΙ  
 προΗΡΗΛΕΘΑΟΛΟΙΩCΠΡΟΙΚΑ τη τῶν Κισαμίων . . .  
 ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΠΟΙΗCΑΙΚΑΙΕΠΙΤΕΛΟCΑγειν . . . . . δίκ  
 αιονήΛΙΝΕΤΕΝΕΤΟΤΗCΠΕΡΙΤΟΥΤΟΤΟ ψήφισμα . . .  
 10 ἀτέλειανεπειξεωCΟΥCΗCΓΕΝΕCΘΑΙ . . .  
 ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝ  
 ἘκψήφισμαΤΟCΠΟΛΥΡΗΝΙΩΝ

Line 1 *end.*—Θ, but, if the bar exists at all, it is quite filled up with red rust.

Line 4.—A distinct space of about half a letter before *καί*.

Line 5.—Note the diaeresis.

Line 7.—The first letter of this line is very *short*.

3. *Gonià*.—In the courtyard of the monastery of Gonià is a large stele of ragstone, 1 metre high × '56 broad × '13 thick, with a symbolical relief at the head: on the left a nude youth with a spear, attended by a goat and with a tree in the background, extends his hand to a draped maiden who advances from the right in front of a ship's prow. In the tympanum of the pediment above are traces of ΑΘ . . . . . Ο . . . ; and above two greyhounds pursuing a hare. The inscription is quite defaced, and only the course of the lines is visible: the letters must have been about 12 mm. high. I got a very fair squeeze, both of inscription and relief, and had some hours' work at it, but could make nothing out: unfortunately it was dropped by my servant on the road soon after, and I have therefore been unable to submit it to a more competent authority. The female figure is certainly the representative of Histiaea, as a comparison of the very common drachmae will show, one of which was obtained from a monk of Gonià from the immediate neighbourhood. The male figure is probably Kydon, the eponymous hero of Kydonia, who appears armed with a bow on the larger silver coins of the town: the goat is not his special emblem, but is a generic Cretan symbol: unless perhaps the youth is Zeus Kretagenes, but this is unlikely. But if the inscription was a treaty between Histiaea and Kydonia, I do not under-

stand the ΑΘ[*ηναίων*] in the tympanum: for which restoration compare the ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ heading in the treaty between Thebes and Polyrenion, found at the latter place (Palaiókastro Kíssamu), now in a doctor's shop in Kíssamo Kastélli, and published by M. Doublet in *B.C.H.* xiii. 1889, p. 68, with a number of other inscriptions from this part of the island. The slab is said to have come from Kantzilières, where there is a temenos on the cliff south of the river gorge close to the sea, still full of remains, and constantly used as a quarry by the villagers of Gonià, Afráta, and the neighbourhood. There were however no inscriptions visible on the site this summer, except Η.Μ.Σ. ΥΟΛΑΓΕ' in large letters on the rock, which my guide insisted were Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα, καὶ παραπολὺ ἀρχαῖα! The site is commonly identified with Diktynnaion, a temple site of some note, round which a little town seems to have sprung up. But the buildings in the gorge estuary below are all mediaeval, and contain no older stones.

4. *Gonià*.—In the west wall of a new house on the beach. Said to come from Kantzilières. Roughly cut and somewhat defaced: large letters. Same tagstone as No. 3, but much coarser. From my copy, corrected from a bad squeeze.

ΔΙΚΤΥΝ<sup>ναι</sup>ΑΙΤΥΡ<sup>α</sup>Ξ  
 ΓΑΣΞΚΙΝΟΣΕΥΧΑΝ  
 Ἰ<sup>ν</sup>ΔΡΟΙΤΟΝ  
 ΟΥΡΑΙΓΕΝΗΟΣ

Line 1.—Space for 2-3 letters before Δικτυ[*ναι*]α.

Line 2.—First letter perhaps Τ: compare Τασσκω and Τασκαιννάδας in inscriptions from Polyrenion. (Nos. 14, 15 *c* below.)

Line 3.—Ἰνδροῖτον.

5. *Kíssamu Kastélli*.—In the possession of Μανουὴλ Καμπουλάκης: found in his garden, which is the site of the Theatre of Kíssamos. Right edge and bottom broken. From my copy.

ἸΕΝΘΑΔΕ	τὸ ἐνθάδε
ΚΙΤΕΚΑΛ	κέλται ( <i>σίρ</i> ) Καλ
ΜΕΝΗΓΛΥ	. . . . .
ΕΛΤΟΝΜ	ἐαυτὸν (?)
ΘΗΣΑC	θήσας

6-13. At Palaiókastro Kissámu, the site of Polyrenion, a large church was being built in the summer of 1893, on a space of the acropolis, just above Epáno Palaiókastro, the materials being obtained from the substructures and ruins of a Græco-Roman building a few yards distant.

6. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—Block of grey limestone built into west wall of church above the ‘upper’ village: discovered on same site, 1893. Letters about 65 mm. high: strokes thin: tips very small. One Cn. Cornelius Cn. F. Scipio Hispanus (or Hispallus) was prætor B.C. 139, and is mentioned *C.I.L.* i. 38; he had a son, but no other descendants are known.

ΓΝΑΙΟΝΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΝ  
ΓΝΑΙΟΥΙΟΝΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΑ  
ΙΣΠΑΝΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝ  
ΑΠΟΛΙΣ

7. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—Block of grey limestone, laid upside-down as west door-sill of the same church: discovered on same site, 1893. From my copy: 29, 7, 93.

ΠΟΛΥΡΗΝΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ  
ΑΚΡ/ Τ///ΑΠΟΛΙΣΑΡΜΟΝΙΩΝ  
αὐ]ΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΘΕΟΥΥΙΟΝ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ

The words on either side of ΑΠΟΛΙΣ have been added in smaller and rougher letters, and are nearly obliterated.

8. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—Block of grey limestone built face inwards into the same church near the south-east corner; probably quite concealed by now: letters very roughly cut. From my copy: 29, 7, 93.

ΘΑΙ  
ΑΜΟΞ/ Τ///

9. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—Another block of grey limestone built face inwards close to the preceding: letters very roughly cut. From my copy 29, 7, 93.

ΕΛΛΗ  
ΘΡΑΣ  
Μ.///ΣΤ  
ΑΡΑ/ ΟΙΤΟΣΕΥ :

[Three or four more lines, quite illegible.]

10. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—An architrave of grey limestone, about to be built into the same church: discovered on same site, 1893. From my copy: 29, 7, 93.

[traces of very coarse letters, quite illegible.]

Section.

ΥΡΑΡΕΝΗΣΑΠ  
ΠΟΠΤΟΣΝΙΚΙΑ  
ΑΡΧΙΝΟΣΠΑ

11. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—Block of grey limestone built into north wall of same church, upside-down, and partly below ground. Letters about 90 mm. high, with large apices. From my copy: 27, 7, 93.

Two or three lines of small letters, quite illegible: then along the lower edge of the block:—

ΣΩΣΟ

12. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—Lower half of a stele of white marble, cut to fit into a socketed base: in possession of Ἀρτέμιος Καμπουράκης:<sup>1</sup> inscription on the plinth. From my copy: 30, 7, 93. For Ὀρύας cf. No. 15*a*, l. 4.

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΟΡΥΑ

13. *Palaiókastro* (Polyrenion).—Lower half of a similar stele, in possession of Artemios Kambourákis. Letters about 20 mm. high: at bottom of stele. From my copy: 30, 7, 93.

ΒΕΛΘΘΟΣΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ  
ΣΩΣΩΝΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ  
ΝΟΣΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ

[Traces of a fourth line, for which there is exactly room on the stele: quite illegible.]

The same Artemios has three other antiques, without inscriptions:—

(*a*) A fragment of frieze-relief about 30 cm. high, representing two fully draped female figures in attitude of choric movement. The foremost figure grips the wrist of the hinder.

(*b*) Half of a shallow basin of marble, purple-red with white veins, intended to stand upon a narrow pedestal. It is about 45 cm. in diameter, and has a small square horizontal handle of palmette design, and a lion's head projecting from the rim at right angles to it.

<sup>1</sup> So I took down the name at the time: but λ and ρ in most parts of Crete are almost indistinguishable, and the name is probably the same as that given under No. 5.



(b) Scratched on the inner moulding of the convex top:—

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΟΡΓΩΝΟΝΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΣΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝΤΟΣ  
ΟΙΩΝΙΚΛΗΣΑΣΚΥΔΑ  
ΟΡΥΑΣΠΙΘΩ

(c) Scratched on the outer moulding, and beginning immediately below (b).

ΤΑΣΚΑΙΝΝΑΔΑΣΞΩΞΩ	ΕΠΙΑΙΓΥΛΩΙΑΡΙΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
ΘΑΛΗΣΜΕΝΕΔΑΜΩ	ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΙΤΟΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ

The artist's name *Καλλίκριτος* is new.

The only other piece of detail on this site was a gable tile of palmette form, about 20 cm. high and 16 broad, of coarse clay covered with a nearly white slip, the impressed lines of the pattern being filled with a dark brown slip which is much decayed.

16. *Prólomios*.—Fragment of stele of ragstone in possession of Γεώργιος Μινωτάκης. Brought from the necropolis at Trialónia. From my copy: 31, 7, 93.



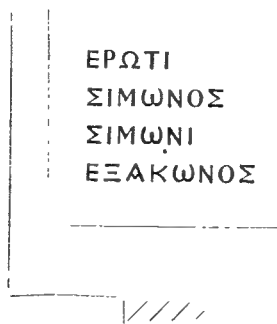
17. *Triolónia*.—Stele of ragstone laid as door-sill in one of the last buildings along the path towards the Hellenic site: large rough letters, much worn. From my copy: 31, 7, 93.

ΦΕΙΔΩΝ
ΝΗΦΕΩ

18. *Papdoliári*.—Stele of white marble kept loose in the house of Νικόλαος Δρακάκης, east of the Palaeókastro [Hyrtakos], and near the road to Rhodováni. From the necropolis of Hyrtakos. Inscription near the lower end. From my copy: 4, 8, 93.

ΠΑΤΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΞΗΝΙΩ  
ΕΥΡΥΣΤΡΑΤΩ ΑΝΔΡΩΧΩ

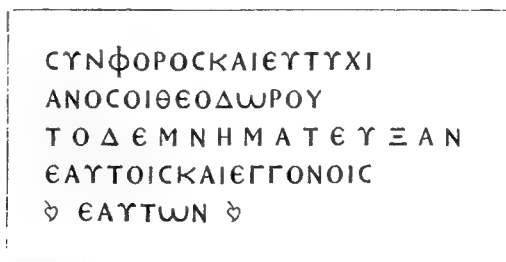
19. *Papáδιανά*.—From the same necropolis and in the same house. Left bottom corner of a panelled stele of white marble, intended to stand upon a base. The inscription is complete. From my copy : 4, 8, 93.



20. *Papáδιανά*.—From the same necropolis and in the same house. Bottom half of stele of local stone, mutilated below. From my copy : 4, 8, 93.

ΜΕΛΑΝΟΣ  
ΕΥΡΥΣΤΑΤΛ  
ΕΥΡΥΣΤΑΤΟΣ  
ΜΕΛΑΝΛ  
ΝΙΚΙΑΣ  
ΜΕΛΑΝΛ

21. *Rhodováni*.—A stele of white marble in possession of the brothers Haji-grigorákis : loose. Apparently from the necropolis of Elyros. From my copy : 5, 8, 93.



22. *Rhodováni*.—A block of yellow ragstone, upside-down, in the south-east corner of the house of Markos Bourdákis, about seven feet from the ground : much weathered : letters of two distinct sizes : right edge and left lower corner mutilated : apparently part of a mural inscription from Elyros, the site of which is some five minutes' walk east of Rhodováni village. From my copy, compared with a squeeze : 5, 8, 93. = *C.I.G.* 2561*d*.



L. 4.—Ἀριστο, and ll. 5, 6, are in distinctly larger letters.

ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΕΠΙ  
Κ Ο Σ Μ Ω Τ Υ Ρ Β Α Ξ  
ΤΩΑΓΗΣΗΘΩΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΣΚΟσ  
ΜΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΑΙΠΟΛΕΙΑΡΙΣΤς  
ΦΩΝΟΝΑΣΑΝΔΡου  
ΛΑΠΠΑΙΛΝΤρῶξενος

23. *Rhodocteni*.—Stele of limestone, laid as top step of outside staircase of the house of the brothers Haji-grigorakis. From the necropolis of Elyros. From my copy: 5, 8, 93.

ΕΥΦΡΩΝ  
ΩΝΟΜΑΡΧΩ

24. *Rhodocteni*.—A block of yellow travertinous ragstone set up on end as right door jamb of the house of Γρηγόριος Παππα-γρηγοράκης: right end buried several inches in the ground: two large sockets cut in the face: letters well cut, but much worn in parts. Evidently from Elyros. From my copy, compared with a squeeze: 5, 8, 93.

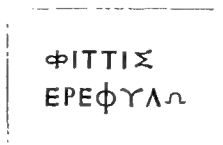
ἀγαθὰ τύχα ἐδούμην ΓΑΙΤ. ΛΕΙΤΩΝΕΛΥΡΙΩΝ  
..... ΟΝΩΙΚΑΙΟΣΑΡΟΔΟΚΩΙΧΟΙ ΛΙ  
..... ἔΝΔΕΛΦΟΙΣΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΕΙΤΑΡΑΝΤ  
ἀπέλεια ΝΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΙΤΟΝΟΙΣ  
ΕΔΟΞε ΡΙΩΙ ΝΕΙΩΣ.....Ο.....ΚΟ  
Ν ΙΟ.....ΠΙ  
ΙΕΤΑΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΓΓ  
Π ΤΤΟΛ √√

25. *Spiru*.—A well-cut block of grey marble; left edge mutilated: part of a mural inscription: letters very boldly cut, and about 75 mm. high. From my copy: 5, 8, 93. Unfortunately the ethnic in l. 3 is indecisive. = *C.I.G.* 2582b.

ΠΡΑΝΙΟΝΙΟ  
ΙΝΔΟΥΥΙΟΝ  
ΙΩΝΗΠΟΛΙ

26. *Agios Kyriakos*.—A small rude white marble stele, displaced from a grave on the west hill side: letters very slightly and carelessly cut. From my copy: 6, 8, 93.

This was the only inscribed stone which appeared during an hour and a half's search in this interesting and compact little town and necropolis: but the Pappas of the village in the hills above says that he has often known others turned up and taken away, with Nos. 31, 32, and *B.C.H.* xiii. p. 71-2, for building material.



31. *Agia Roumeli*.—A similar block, somewhat narrower above than below. From the left edge extends an arm grasping a double-axe, sunk in low relief below the face of the stone: below are the letters, rude and defaced. From my copy: 6, 8, 93.

ΑΙΨΥΚΟΕ  
CΩCΩ

32. *Agia Roumeli*.—A similar block, but smaller than the above: very rudely cut. From my copy: 6, 8, 93.

CΗΦΡΟΔΟΤ  
ΟCΒΟΥΔΥΛΛΑ  
C  
ΧΑΙΡC

33. *Heraklio* (Kandia).—A small fragment of a slab of white marble about 20 mm. thick, inscribed on both faces with late Roman characters. Picked up by M. Minos Kalokairinos and myself on the site of Knossos, in a field, west of the high road, in which are masses of Roman concrete, and many fragments of marble pavements and wall-decorations. Now in the Museum of the Syllogos of Heraklio. From my copy.

A.

B.

MODVMB AMNECF	ALABENS —SEX —SEX —QVATTVOR
------------------	--------------------------------------

## KARIAN SITES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

## [PLATE IX.]

THE sites and inscriptions which follow were noted during a series of short journeys made in 1893 and 1894 with the help of grants from the Hellenic and Royal Geographical Societies. The geographical and descriptive results are published in *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* viii. (shortly to appear), and a short account of the geology in *Journal Of. Junior Scientific Club*, ii. 33 (Jan. 1896): cf. *Proc. Brit. Ass.* 1893 (Nottingham), p. 746. An account of Telmessos, Karyanda and Taramptos has already appeared in the *Hellenic Journal*, xiv. 373 ff.<sup>1</sup>

These researches are confined to the area included between Latmos (Besh-parmak) and the Latmian Gulf (Denizli Liman) on the north, the Marsyas valley (China Chai) on the east, the Gulf of Keramos on the south, and the sea on the west. Though sites already identified were in nearly all cases visited, they are not discussed here, unless there is fresh evidence to bring forward.

The sites may be grouped for convenience under the following heads of our geographical paper (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc. l.c.*):—

- A. Keramos, Pisi, Mughla, and the Marsyas valley (China Chai).
- B. The Gulf of Keramos, and the sites between Keramos, Mylasa and Halikarnassos.
- C. The peninsula of Myndos.
- D. Latmos and Grion, included between Miletos, Amyzon and Mylasa.

I.—*From Keramos to Marsyas Valley: Kartal Déré, Mughla, China Chai.*

The long valley which reaches the sea at Keramos is called the Kartal Déré (vulture valley). Only the lower part of it is indicated in the Admiralty charts and in Kiepert; and in the latter the whole topography of its upper part is mistaken. A few miles north of Keramos the ravine turns in a nearly eastward direction, but is impassable and uninhabitable until it has turned the south-east flank of the Marishal Dagh. The sides of the great gorge are so abrupt that no path descends it, and communication between Keramos and

<sup>1</sup> An account of the early Karian tombs of this neighbourhood will appear in the next number of this *Journal*, and will be accom-

panied by a map, the completion of which has been delayed.

the neighbourhood of Mughla is maintained either along the northern slopes of the Kiran Dagħ, or by a path over the Marishal Dagħ from Chivelik to Yonaluk, and thence by Pınarı to Keramos.

A Greek deacon of Yasghırlar, the Christian village below Penjik, states that he has found traces at the head of the Kai Déré of the ancient road from Stratonikeia to Keramos, and that this road went by Panámara up the valley of Kaneväs, and hence by the head of the Kai Déré across the Marishal Dagħ to Pınarı and Keramos: this remains to be verified.

The alternative road inland from Keramos, which runs on the south side of the Kartal Déré, seems to be fairly well marked by a series of small sites between the Kiran Dagħ and the upper part of the valley.

(1) At Sarij ('cistern') is a large city site, 2,200 feet above the sea, defended on the north by the lofty precipice of the Kartal Déré (whose bed lies here at 1150 feet), and on the other sides by a long line of wall, which is mainly of Hellenistic (probably Rhodian) work, but in part also of earlier date: it is the only walled town of this period in the Kiran Dagħ. The site of the theatre seems clear on the south slope, but there are no traces of stone seats or stage buildings. The only coins in the modern village were small Rhodian bronze, and the greater part of the fortifications doubtless dates from the Rhodian occupation of the mainland. Outside the wall to the south, on a flat piece of ground, is an enclosure about 40 yards square, entered by a gateway on the side which faces the town: it may have served some religious or sepulchral purpose, but the ground within it is thickly covered with fragments of tiles and other pottery, and its position suggests that the site was not chosen simply for purposes of defence.

(2) Again, on the road from Sarij to Deniz Ovası, at the point where the path to Bagħ-yaka diverges, there is a well, and beside it a plane-tree of enormous size, now a mere trunk about 50 feet in circumference. The quantity of pottery lying about here indicates that the site was formerly inhabited, and probably that the well or the tree, or both, were held sacred in antiquity. There do not however appear to be any remains of buildings.

(3) At Bagħ-yaka a small tower on the hill over the village protects the route from Stratonikeia towards the Kiran Dagħ.

(4) At Kinçek Pelen, above the direct road from the Kiran Dagħ to Pisi, is a very small fortress of Hellenic masonry, quadrangular with a tower at each corner. It is the only one in this neighbourhood which is built on this plan. On the slopes of the hill on which the fortress stands are some simple rock tombs. A natural marvel is pointed out close by, a spring from which there is a strong escape of an odourless gas, probably carbonic acid. The water is said by the natives to be instantly fatal to all animals that drink it, except jackals.

(5) At Yerkessen there is a tower on the hill above the very considerable village. This small military post commanded the easiest road between the Kiran Dagħ and the plateau of Mughla, and also the road from the Kiran Dagħ to the hitherto unidentified city above Yenijé. The only inscription at Yerkessen is a fragmentary dedication by or for a Rhodian *στρατηγός*

ἐπὶ τῷ πέτρῳ (No. 15); so the fort is doubtless a link in the Rhodian system of defence.

The plains of Pisi and Mughla, and other smaller ones east of Kartal Déré basin, are completely encircled by mountains, like the upland plains of Arkadia and Crete; while numberless springs come out under the Kiran Dagħ along the coast between Keramos and Giova (Jova).

At Mughla there is a Hellenic fortress on the flat-topped hill above the town. Its wall is fairly well preserved on the eastern side; the other sides are precipitous, and perhaps were never artificially protected.

There are two small sites in the plain of Pisi: one called Pisi-asar, on a spur a little south-west of the town; the other on the north-east edge of the basin, about half way between Mughla and Kafeja (*v. Benndorf, Anz. d. Hist. Classe d. Univ. z. Wien*, xviii., 1892).

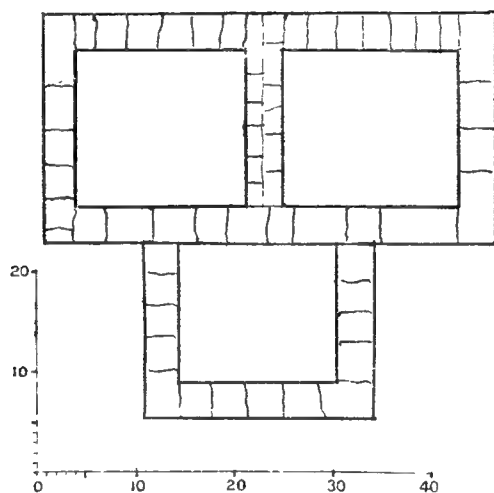


FIG. 1.—YERKESSEN: PLAN OF THE FORT.

The Kartal Déré basin is bounded northwards by that of the China Chai, the southernmost headwater of the Marsyas, which reaches the Macander opposite Tralles. Like the Kartal Déré, it has a more or less open upper basin, converging upon a long, narrow and unprofitable main valley, running nearly due north to its junction with the Mesevli Chai, which comes in from the east at Inje Kemer. It contains little of interest, except the great sanctuary of Panámara in the southernmost of its tributaries from the west; and it has further been fully explored and described by MM. Hula and Szanto. W.R.P. spent several days in the triangle between the China Chai and the Mesevli Chai, but found nothing except the small sites mentioned below.

There is a small fort between Kafeja and Kara Koyun, commanding the route from the plain of Pisi into the China Chai, and from thence northward there are three small sites on the hills east of the main valley.

(1) Near Boz-armud, above the mill where the last stream is crossed in coming from Akyedik and Mughla, there are traces in a torrent bed of a building of large blocks of marble, probably the local kind above mentioned. The site is thickly covered with soil, except where the torrent has excavated it. It looks not unlike a temple.

(2) Above Elekji there is a line of wall with several towers, running along the crest of a spur of the hills on the north side of the Elekji Déré.

(3) At Almajik there is a peculiar Hellenic tomb to be described later.

At Inje Kemer ('thin bridge') the late bridge, which formerly carried an aqueduct and now carries the road across the China Chai, has been recently visited by MM. Hula and Szanto. It is worth noting that the road to Meskier, which it now carries, is rarely used, and can never have been a great thoroughfare, as it is exceedingly difficult for beasts; though it follows the only possible track. The ancient road from Alabanda to Alinda (?) and Kyon doubtless corresponds to the modern one marked by Kiepert, on the right (north) bank of the Mesevli Chai. The bridge itself was not meant for a road, but carried an aqueduct, as the channel-stones lying near it indicate. There are tombs on desolate ridges a little higher up the China Chai, on the right bank, but no trace of a settlement.

## II.—*From Keramos to Budrum.*

The natural line of communication between Keramos and Mylasa is *via* the Déré Keui valley, Ishek Déré, and Karajà Hissar (Pedasa): the old road seems to have skirted the former over the spurs of the Marishal Dagħ, and was defended by three forts: (1) on the ridge between the Kartal Déré and Pirnâri, south of the latter; (2) a pre-Hellenic fortress at Ishek Déré immediately above the modern road, defended on the north by a precipice, and on the other sides by a double line of wall; (3) a similar and probably coëval fortress on a high peak north-east of it, overlooking Yeni Keui and Karajà Hissar, and the unexplored valley between this site and the Kartal Dagħ. There may have been a road running up this valley and joining the road above mentioned from Keramos over the Marishal Dagħ to Stratonikeia, which ascends not far from Yonaluk.

Some two miles below the confluence of the Kai Déré with the Akchai, on the left (south) bank, and bounded on the west by a small valley northwards through the Kurun Chiflik from the Kara Dagħ, lies the important site of Karajà Hissar, first visited by MM. Doublet and Deschamps and rightly identified by them with PEDASA. It is a Hellenic fortified town containing a theatre and other public buildings: the inscription published by MM. Doublet and Deschamps is from a building dedicated to Titus, which contains traces of another inscription. A little excavation would be easy and profitable. No coins have been found here as yet.

## PEDASA.

Judeich formerly placed Pedasa at Etrim (*Mith.* xii. 331), but Etrim is wanted for Theangela (*Class. Rev.* iii. 333). It is rightly placed by MM. Doublet and Deschamps at Karajà Hissar, on the evidence of the inscription in *B.C.H.* xiv. (1890), p. 627. But if this was the only town of the name in Karia, it is very difficult to explain several allusions to it in classical literature.

A. To take the first passages which suit Karajà Hissar: Herodotos v. 119—121 describes the campaign of Daurises against the Karian rebels after the sack of Sardis. The Karians gave battle on the low ground south-west of the junction of the Marsyas and Maeander. They were beaten, and retired south [on Mylasa], but rallied and gave battle again at Labranda, to defend their national sanctuary, and dispute the pass (*ῥιὸ* Alinda?) from the Marsyas basin to that of Mylasa. Here they were beaten again; and a third battle apparently lost them Mylasa, in spite of Greek reinforcements from Miletos. Driven to desperation, however, and *πυθόμενοι ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέεται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλιν σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδιάσῃ ὁδόν*—they lay in wait on the road in [the territory of] Pedasos and utterly defeated the Persians in a night engagement. Here ‘the road in Pedasos’ can hardly be other than the pass southwards from Mylasa *ῥιὸ* Menteshé Boghaz to Karajà Hissar, whence roads diverge to Keramos, and to Theangela and Halikarnassos. This is not the direct road to Halikarnassos, but is the obvious route for an army bent on reducing the whole neighbourhood in detail; and Karajà Hissar is the first stage on it after Mylasa.

(2) After the sack of Miletos (*Hdt.* vi. 20) the Persians retained, in their own hands, *τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι*. Whether *τὰ ὑπεράκρια* means the uplands of Mts. Orion and Latmos, or the spurs immediately south of Miletos; or<sup>2</sup> whether *τὸ πεδίον* includes Mylasa, and *τὰ ὑπεράκρια* the southern boundary of it, which the Persians had, as we have seen, already suffered enough over, there is no difficulty in referring *Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι* to the people round the Karajà Hissar site; though the phrase is less applicable to the inhabitants of a town than to the whole population of a district; whereof more further on.

(3) Similarly the Pedasa of Livy xxxiii. 30 suits Karajà Hissar. The terms of peace imposed by Rome upon Philip included the withdrawal of Macedonian garrisons from Euromos, Pedasa, Bargylia and Iasos: *i.e.* the evacuation of the approaches to Mylasa and Stratonikeia from the sea-ports of the Latmic, Iassic, and Keramic gulfs. Karajà Hissar, as we have seen above (p. 191), commands the only road from Keramos, and one of the alternative roads from Halikarnassos to Mylasa: Bargylia commands the other.

<sup>2</sup> Of these alternatives, W.R.P. prefers the first, J.L.M. the second

(4) Finally, Strabo knows of a Pedason in the territory of Stratonikeia in his time: Πήδασον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων πολίχρινόν ἐστιν, 611 (= 13. 1. 59).

B. (1) But in the last passage, Strabo devotes a far larger space to another Pedasa, desolate in his time, but formerly of some importance. He says that the Leleges, whom Homer knows of in the Troad (*Il.* K 429), were driven out thence by Achilles, so that the Pedasos there was destroyed. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασέων τὰ Πήδασα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομασθέντα ἦν πόλις, καὶ νῦν ἡ χώρα Πηδασίς λέγεται. φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὀκτὼ πόλεις ὥκίσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Δελέγων πρότερον εὐανδρησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Καρίας κατασχεῖν τῆς μεχρὶ Μύνδου καὶ Βαργυλίων, καὶ τῆς Πισιδίας ἰποτεμέσθαι πολλήν. ὕστερον δὲ . . . ἠφανίσθη τὸ γένος, τῶν δ' ὀκτὼ πόλεων τὰς ἑξ Μάυσωλος εἰς μίαν τὴν Ἀλικαρνασὸν συνήγαγεν, ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ. Συάγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε. τοῖς δὲ Πηδασέυσιν τούτοις φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος ὅτε μέλλοι τι ἀνεπιτήδειον ἔσσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις, τὴν ἱερείαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πώγωνα ἴσχειν. τρὶς δὲ συμβῆναι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς. Then follows the passage (*A.* 4) above. The passage is worth quoting thus fully, because it establishes: (1) that there existed still the name Pedasa in Strabo's time elsewhere than at Karajà Hissar, (2) that it was the name of a *district*, which at its greatest extension reached Bargyilia, *i.e.* the outlet of the Kar Ova basin, and which included Syangela (Theangela) at the head of the Kar Ova, as well as all the peninsula of Myndos; (3) that six of its eight towns ceased to exist independently after the time of Mausolos; (4) that in the Lelegian Πηδασίς χώρα was a town named τὰ Πήδασα, up-country from Halikarnassos; (5) that this was the town with the cult of Athene (*Hdt.* i. 175).

(2) Pliny, *N.H.* v. 29, gives the names of the six towns incorporated by Mausolos, perhaps on the same authority, Kallisthenes, whom Strabo quotes so meagrely; they are Theangela, Sibde, Medmasa, Euranion, Pedasos, Telmissos. Theangela, however, is specified by Strabo as having been left unincorporated by Mausolos, and must be omitted from consideration here. Telmissos is identified with the group of early Karian sites on the Kara Dagħ (*v.* below, and our paper in *J.H.S.* xiv. (1894) pp. 373 ff.). Medmasa is certainly between Karyanda and Myndos, and near the north coast of the peninsula; probably Borghaz (p. 210 below). Sibde and Euranion remain unknown, and do not appear even in the Athenian tribute-lists. One of them perhaps represents Alizetin (p. 199). Note the absence from Pliny's list of Termera and Karyanda. The Pedasos of Pliny must be τὰ Πήδασα of Strabo, and must be looked for inland of Halikarnassos and not very far off.

The magnificent walled Karian town of Ghiuk Chalar (p. 202), with its extensive necropolis of tumuli and chambered tombs, exactly occupies the situation required; and its identification with this other Pedasa is confirmed (*a*) by the occurrence of the place-name Bitès (Adm. Charts, 'Petasa') in the lowland south-west of the Ghiuk Chalar hills, (*b*) by the discovery of the site of an Athene temple in the valley running down to Bitès from the west end of the citadel of Ghiuk Chalar; with an inscription which we



publish below (No. 4). This goes to confirm the probability that Herodotos refers to this Pedasa in the passages quoted by Strabo above (Hdt. i. 175, viii. 104).

(3) Herodotos (i. 175) further says that, when attacked by Harpagos, the inhabitants of this Pedasa were the only Karians who held out. ὁρος τευχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Λίδη. Now the name Lida has been given by recent geographers, without any adequate authority whatever, to the whole range of the Kiran Dagħ (Adm. Chart 1604) and to the mass of the Marishal Dagħ and its northward extension: e.g. MM. Doublet and Deschamps (*B.C.H.* xv. 175 n.<sup>3</sup>) describe Panámara as lying on a spur of Mt. Lida 'le Kerân Dagħ des Tures'; a double confusion, because the name Kiran Dagħ (Kerenda, Adm. Chart 1604) is properly applied *only* to the coast range between Keramos and Idyma, whereas Panámara, as above mentioned, is on an eastward spur of the Penjik Dagħ.

On the other hand, the name Lida occurs along with a number of other *local* names (of which only *Salmakis* and *Termera* are identifiable) in the great Halikarnassian inscription dealing with the sale of properties (*B.C.H.* iv. (1880), p. 295 ff.). It is therefore probable that Mt. Lida too is close to Halikarnassos. It may represent the hills close round Ghiuk Chalar, where there is a difficult pass from the north side of the isthmus; more probably it is the bold range of hills lining the north coast east of the isthmus which command both the coast road to Halikarnassos from Bargylia and Mylasa, and the longer but quite usual and modern main road from Mylasa *via* Kindya and through the Kar Ova, and which are still crowned by the remains of an otherwise inexplicable line of wall, for more than a mile along the brow, with a number of tumuli behind it on the south side, and the remains of either tumuli or forts on its eastward spurs looking over Bargylia.

Looking back now at the passage about the later ambush on the 'road in Pedasos' (Hdt. v. 121), it seems not impossible that this also is to be referred to the 'Pedasa' of Ghiuk Chalar, not to that of Karajâ Hissar: but the silence of Herodotos as to the identity of the successive plans of defence ought to be allowed some weight against this view: ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, however, in that passage, might very well be a reference to the eight towns of Strabo's *Ἠηδασίς*.

And further, it may have been in consequence of their repeated stubbornness that the Karians of the *Ἠηδασίς* were eventually propitiated with a share of the conquered territory of Miletos. In that case, the only literary allusions which remain to the Pedasos of Karajâ Hissar are that in Livy about the Macedonian garrison, and that in Strabo to the *πολίχνηον* in the territory of Stratonikeia.

The reduplication of the name hardly needs excuse. Besides the Pedasos on the Sutuöeis, in the Troad (Strabo xiii. 1, 7, 50, 59, *loc.*), we know

<sup>3</sup> The same is said of the neighbourhood of Karajâ Hissar *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 627 (Doublet and Deschamps). Cf. *B.C.H.* iv. 139 (Haussoullet).

of another near Kyzikos (Agathokles, *F.H.G.* iv. p. 289. 4) and another, again a 'Lelegian' town, in Messenia (Strabo viii. 4. 1-3). It is a compound place-name, of a kind not uncommon in the Aegean area: the same root perhaps reappears in the Pisidian Pednelissos.

#### MONASTIR DAGH.

Below Karajà Hissar the main valley turns more northward to skirt the prominent Monastir Dagh (1700 feet: Kiepert's Kara Dagh), and descends again westwards through a narrow gorge turning several mills. Any road from Pedasa to Theangela must have gone south of the Monastir Dagh, and past Kirsalar.

The summit of the Monastir Dagh is occupied by a fortress of some extent, the outer wall of which has been purposely destroyed.

Its masonry must have been very similar to that of the wall of the Kara Dagh fortress. Within the wall are house ruins in a condition which barely allows the lines of their walls to be traced. Outside the fortress at no great distance on the northern continuation of the ridge are other similar house ruins. A precipice of some 200 feet in height fringes the hill on the east and forms so efficient a defence that the fortress wall is not continued along its crest. The face of this precipice is broken by a few steep *couloirs* and on ascending one of these, about half way between the fortified summit and the other ruins, we find ourselves in a little hollow which is a sacred place (*dede*) for the inhabitants of the villages of Alajà and Ku-hyaka. Here at a certain season, just after the first autumn rains, they come and sacrifice a lamb or a kid. It chanced that W.R.P. visited the place on the morrow of such a sacrifice, and found, hanging on the branches of one of the venerable trees which grow in this hollow, the liver and certain other portions of the victim, left for the spirits of the place to consume. The sanctity of the place to-day is further attested by the existence in it of tombs of two holy men. There is no doubt that it is an old Carian *ἱερόν* which has preserved its sanctity ever since. At the head of the *couloir* by which it is approached is an old terrace wall; below this, among the fallen stones, are quantities of pieces of pottery, cut in the rock to the right of the ascent is a receptacle which must have been meant to contain water for ritual purposes: and just beside the tombs of the Turkish saints are two marbles, one set upon the other.<sup>1</sup>

#### KINDYA.

There is an unfortified settlement, probably pre-Hellenic, with several large buildings on a hill immediately above Aghachli Oyük. The hills be-

<sup>1</sup> The smaller is a fragment of a Greek moulding, with egg and tongue pattern; the other struck me at first sight as being Byzantine, but afterwards as being a piece of old Carian work. My drawings of the marbles were lost, owing to a mishap, and I cannot verify my judgment about them without

revisiting the site. It is improbable that they were brought to this not easily accessible place as votive offerings, although we know how much the magic power of sculptured stones is esteemed by superstitious people in these countries.—W.R.P.

tween the Yemikler Déré and the Kar Oya are crowned by a notable fortress (Kalé) above Cholmekji Keui, and by numerous tumuli, all of which must be taken in connexion with the town-site on the spur above Uch-bunar, which is now decisively identified with KINDYA. The celebrated temple of Artemis is represented on a site immediately opposite, across the Yemikler Déré.

Kindya must be placed at Sirtmesh Kalé, a Karian fortress of considerable extent and in a very commanding position. The outer line of defence follows on the west the line of a precipitous escarpment, and here any small artificial additions to the natural defence have disappeared. On the other sides runs a wall never of massive proportions and similar in its masonry to the inner wall, a characteristic specimen of Karian masonry. No series of tumuli appears to exist in its immediate neighbourhood, as we should expect in the case of a Karian place of the importance of Kindya, and P. was formerly inclined to place this town at Cholmekji Kalé, in the neighbourhood of which there are tumuli; but on the other hand Cholmekji Kalé (described below), which has a large series of tumuli and is the only alternative site for Kindya, is a purely Hellenic fortress and of smaller extent than Sirtmesh Kalé: nor are there any traces near it of a site for the temple of Artemis Kindyas which we must suppose to have been close to the ancient city. On a slight eminence north of Sirtmesh Kalé and separated from it by the stream which descends from Yemikler are many marbles indicating that an important building, almost certainly a temple, stood on this isolated site. Two inscriptions have been found here; one that is published by Messrs. Cousin and Diehl (*Bull.* xiii. 37), the other one recently published in the *Bulletin* (xviii. p. 199), of which we can give a more perfect copy (No. 8). It is very improbable that these stones have been brought over even from the nearest site, Bargylia (which lies on the other side of the gulf): and one of them is a dedication to Artemis Kindyas.

Kindya therefore may be placed with certainty at Sirtmesh Kalé; and even if it proves that the tumuli are confined to the ridges near Cholmekji Kalé, which have been examined more closely than those near Sirtmesh Kalé, it can still be maintained that the whole of this small range was in the territory of Kindya, and that for some reason its large tombs were built at some distance from the town. The tumuli on the ridge east of Cholmekji Kalé are, indeed, as their masonry shows, of a date perhaps contemporary with the walls of that fortress, and it is possible that, when they were made, Sirtmesh Kalé had for some strategical reason been abandoned and the residence of the old princely families transferred to Cholmekji Kalé.

Messrs. Cousin and Diehl have already suggested that the site where they found their inscription is that of the temple of Artemis Kindyas, and had they visited the old Karian fortress in the immediate neighbourhood, their conjecture would have become a certainty. Their suggestion should have been adopted by Kiepert, who visited Sirtmesh Kalé. We do not know if this is the site which Texier in his small book on Asia Minor (p. 638) mentions and conjectures was the site of the temple of Artemis. He

describes it, looking from Bargylia, as being 'dans la plaine située de l'autre côté des collines,' which is unfortunately so vague as to be useless.

Cholmekji Kalé is an extensive Hellenic fortress on the top of a high hill. It has a double line of fortification, except on the north-west, all of the ordinary type of later Hellenic masonry with drafts at the corners. The exact course of the oval line of wall is much obscured by bushes, and of three towers only the foundations remain: within the northward gateway foundations are distinctly visible. The space east of the inner line of fortifications is quite flat, and contains two underground covered passages. Their extent cannot be determined without excavation, and their purpose is not obvious. The strategical importance of this fortress depends on its command of the easiest road from the Taliani plain to the Kar Ova. On the ridge to the north-east are some remarkable tumuli.<sup>5</sup>

The Kiran Dagħ (Kerenda, Adm. Ch. 1604), which lines the north shore of the Keramic Gulf from Keramos to Giova, has far fewer valleys leading to the sea than Kiepert's map indicates; in particular the large valley, running north-west, would cut across the Kartal Déré, if it existed as far as it is marked. The seaward slopes are very abrupt, and leave room for no coast-land or even for a good road from Keramos to Idyma, which is rightly placed at Giova: a single watch-tower at Akbuk, a little east of Keramos, marks a gap in the Kiran Dagħ and may indicate the ancient port of the nameless site at Sarij, the 'Rhodian' masonry of which is very similar. West of Keramos, the coast-range (Kara Dagħ—Fezlikan—Kaplan Dagħ) is much less precipitous and continuous, but has not yet been thoroughly explored. Some distance west of Keramos is a watch-tower of beautiful polygonal masonry and a little west again of this is a site near the sea with brick-work buildings of Roman or Byzantine times. Near this was found a dedication to *Ἡρα Ἀκταία*, whose temple is to be looked for here (see Hicks, *Ceramus and its Inscriptions*, *J.H.S.* xi. 1890).

#### BARGASA.

Bargasa is placed by Kiepert at Vasilikà (Fezlikàn Yailasi). It occurs as *Πάργασα* in the Athenian tribute-lists, and struck numerous coins. Strabo's words (656) *εἶτα μετὰ Κνίδου, Κέραμος καὶ Βάργασα, πόλιν ὑπὲρ θαλάττης* (*J.H.S.* *l.c.* p. 109) would lead us to look for it on or near the northern coast of the Keramic Gulf. There are no ruins at Fezlikàn Yailasi of a city of note in Roman times: only a tower perched on a precipitous hill. Alizetìn, though west of Keramos, will not do, as this site was deserted in the fourth century. If Bargasa is anywhere in the region which Strabo indicates, the only site which will suit it is the ancient town between Yenijé and Ula (*c.* map).<sup>5</sup> This is a Hellenic city of some size and importance. It contains a small theatre and outside its walls are some very remarkable and beautiful tombs. In the plain on the west, just beneath the city, are the remains of one or more large marble buildings, but no inscriptions have

<sup>5</sup> An account of the tumuli, and the map, follow in the next *Journal*.

been found. At the same time the order of the names in Strabo indicates that Bargasa lay west of Keramos. There is a reason however for believing that Bargasa is north of Amyzon and Alabastra, where Ptolemy's map puts it. Diligent search in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Keramos has revealed not one single coin of Bargasa. Yet they are by no means uncommon. W. R. P. has six or seven all brought from Aidin and bought in Smyrna. It is noteworthy that coins of Keramos, which one not unfrequently meets with at local centres of traffic, such as Mylasa and Mughla, are far rarer in the Smyrna market than those of Bargasa. Bargasa will therefore probably be found in the unexplored country between Amyzon and Aidin. Ptolemy's view is further supported by the fact that Bargasa occurs next to Neapolis in a list of Lydian and Karian cities which combined to honour the memory of a citizen of Antioch (Buresch, *Alt. Mitth.* xix. p. 102). Although the order of the cities here is of course not strictly geographical, yet, as the editor points out, they in some measure fall into geographical groups. Another reason for not placing it at Yenijé is that there is a river-god on some of its coins, and this implies the existence of a perennial stream, such as does not exist either at Yenijé or at Vasilikâ.

In coasting along, we found terraces, house foundations, etc., of unhewn masonry on a precipitous hill (1300 feet) overhanging the small bay known as Hellenikâ,<sup>6</sup> but nothing further to justify the name: several large tumuli, however, on the skyline some miles northward, probably in the neighbourhood of Theangela; and a fine tomb, to be described later, on the island Orak (Adm. Ch. 1604).

The hilly country between the west border of the Kar Ova and Budrum is of a very porous variety of the limestone, and remarkable for its absolute lack of water. The whole supply is now derived from cisterns, which being whitewashed form conspicuous landmarks, especially along the roads. At present there is not a single village in this district, but the numerous, apparently pre-Hellenic, remains show that it was well populated at a remote period. The southern part of it as far as the coast is a large chiftlik, now the property of a Greek of Budrum, M. Mangli, drained by a fan-shaped basin from Kizil Agaeh to Alizetin (*q.v.* below).

In this waterless section between the Kar Ova and Budrum, the line of the old road follows very closely that of the modern track, keeping close under the conspicuous range of hills which lines the northern coast, and crossing in detail the stream-beds which converge upon the southward valley in which M. Mangli's farm lies close to the sea. The route is further indicated by a series of Karian and Hellenic chambered tombs, the latter of some architectural pretensions, which lie on either side of it at intervals, beginning about an hour after the ascent from the Kar Ova, and continuing to a point nearly opposite to the hamlet of Kizil Agaeh, on the watershed between the north-west tributaries of M. Mangli's stream, and the south-east valley head of that which flows northwards to the north side of the Budrum

<sup>6</sup> Marked in 'Akashli Bay,' Adm. Ch. 1604.

isthmus, reaching the sea at Durvandà, and determining the course of the north-coast road from Halikarnassos to Bargylia. Most of these tombs are very much shattered, but the plan and even the elevation of several can be determined with some accuracy; they do not however present any noteworthy features. Belonging to one of them is a square base of roughly dressed limestone, with a vine wreath in relief, and the inscription

#### ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΥ

The top of the base is circular, and has a round hole in the middle to support a bronze object. Height 23 cm., breadth of front 53 cm., front to back 54 cm.

Close to the north side of the road nearly opposite to Kizil Agach is a totally ruined building with large unfluted columns, very much overgrown with bushes: it has the look of a small temple or heroön, but is very probably only an elaborate Hellenic tomb.

Ascending the western valley head of the northward stream, the road crosses an easy pass where there seem to be traces visible of the earlier track, and descends by a series of new zigzags into the deep river-bed which runs down upon the north-west quarter of Halikarnassos, and so into the bay through the Greek quarter of Budrum.

#### ALIZETIN.

In the headwaters of the easternmost tributary of M. Mangli's stream, which runs through a wooded gorge into the main valley about half an hour from the sea, is a large and remarkably well preserved Karian site known as Alizetin, on a conspicuous spur of the southern hills, nearly 1,000 ft. high, and close above, and south of, the cistern and mandra which lie in the middle of the basin. The circuit wall (Pl. IX. 4) is of large blocks of a local limestone very dark in colour, and containing many black flints, nodules of which are also scattered everywhere in the soil. One of the best preserved towers, on the north side, is represented in Pl. IX. 5. The space within is crowded with buildings of the common limestone slabs without cement, which are often preserved above the level of the first floor, though naturally all the woodwork has perished (Pl. IX. 3, 4): the most perfect house-walls are quite twenty feet in height, and provided with window-openings. The streets between them are narrow and irregular. Several buildings on the south-east slope of the site are supported on terrace walls of enormous blocks of the compact black limestone, and show also, above, signs of repeated rebuilding in more or less regularly squared and isodomonous masonry. Two in particular deserve a detailed description. (1) An oblong substructure, of very large rudely polygonal blocks, contains two chambers, like those of the Karian tombs, with false-vaulted roofs, entered by low doors in the side facing down the hill. (2) On a superstructure was a portico facing up the hill, with closed ends. On a stylobate of two steps, two piers between antae supported the roughly dressed architrave: these piers consisted each of a single block, or

rather slab, rectangular in section, and tapering upwards on the broad faces: they terminated above in large simply voluted capitals, one of which is completely preserved (Fig. 2); to judge from a socket in the top step in which one of them apparently stood, they were set with the narrow face outwards; and consequently with the volutes facing not to the front, but sideways. On the architrave rested roof-beams of stone, reaching from front to back of the building; dressed to the form of a very low gable, so as to support the rafters and roof-slabs directly. The floor is paved with large rectangular slabs, and the lower part of the walls is adorned with a course of similar slabs set vertically as parastades. The dimensions of the building are: length 24 ft. 9 in., front to back 10 ft. 2 in.



FIG. 2.—ALIZETÎN: CAPITAL.

We hoped to be able to return to Alizetîn after our first visit, and unfortunately deferred the execution of a regular plan of the town, which is by far the most adequate known specimen of Karian architecture. The site is so exposed, however, that excavation would probably yield very little. The settlement appears to have come to an abrupt end at a comparatively early date; and it may very well have been one of the eight Lelegian towns whose populations were transferred by Mausolos to Halikarnassos. Out of Pliny's list<sup>7</sup> Sibde and Euramion remain unidentified, and Alizetîn may be one of these. The tombs along the road, above mentioned, may represent the corresponding necropolis, but some of them are certainly later than the fourth century. No tombs have been found in the immediate neighbourhood of the site, but there is a small sanctuary with early terra-cottas.

There is another extensive city site on the high peak south-east of Halikarnassos, which on the other side overlooks the Kizil Agach valley. The city wall can be clearly traced, but is not in good preservation. Detailed exploration of this important but hitherto unnoticed town is reserved for next year. On the way down from this site to Hagios Georgios, the eastern suburb of Budrum, are the remains of a large tumulus, probably of our 'compound' type. On the back of the ridge which runs from the city peak the cape opposite the east end of Arkonnesos, are numerous 'Lelegian' house-ruins: and a small fort, not yet described, above the farmhouses of the Mangli Chiflik.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* v. 29

III.—*The Peninsula of Myndos.*

OF HALIKARNASSOS we have nothing to add to existing accounts, except Inscriptions 5 and 6, and a note of the probable course of the principal roads thence into the peninsula of Myndos.

1. There are traces of an old track in the deep ravine which leads directly north from the north angle of the old town, and straight towards Ghiuk Chalar; and it is probable that an extension of this led along the line of a difficult modern track, down a side valley into the northward ravine which reaches the sea at Durvandā; where it joined the road from Karyanda to Bargylia, and, further on, the main north-coast road from Halikarnassos to the latter town.

2. From the west gate of Halikarnassos the old road to Myndos follows very closely the line of the modern one. The extension of the Ghiuk Chalar tumuli south-east towards Chirkān perhaps indicates that it received in the plain of Bitēs a branch from the west gate of Ghiuk Chalar. The road to Telmessos diverged near the last-named junction, and followed a wide ravine through the Kara Dagħ, descending upon the Apollo temple below Telmessos, where there are traces of a well-worn track, and from thence into the Ghiol valley to Karyanda. Further on again, from Episcopī, a cross road led up the Episcopī valley and down upon Sandama. This road also is very deeply worn in several places near the top of the pass. There was probably a branch of it over a pass further east, past the fort at Tremil, to the small towns round the bay: here again the present track is evidently of great age.

The main road to Myndos can again be traced further on, over the watershed at Kiurejī, where there is a small fort, and along the north side of the Akcherenda valley. It takes an obvious line and is closely followed by the modern track most of the way.

3. The course of the direct road from Halikarnassos to Termera (Assarlik) is not clear. If there was one, it probably diverged southwards from Episcopī, and ran between the south range and the sea. The road from Myndos to Termera, and to the little port below it on the south coast, was probably of early and considerable importance; it can probably be traced near Kadi Kalessi, and its line across the ridge close to the west end of Assarlik is one of the best examples in the neighbourhood, the hollow way being from ten to fifteen feet deep. An instance of its use in the fifth century is probably afforded by the tribute-list for 425 B.C., where the ἀργυρολόγος records Μύνδιοι παρὰ Τέρμερα shortly after Termera, Kindya, and Karyanda.

4. From Myndos northward a coast road passes a succession of small forts and settlements, including that at Tremil above mentioned, and eventually reaches Karyanda (Farélia) and so joins the Halikarnassos-Bargylia road at Durvandā.

On the western summit of the island of Arkonnesos is a remarkable temenos, which has been described by Dr. Dörpfeld in *Mith. Ath.* xiv. (p. 466 ff. Pl. XII., XIII.).



There is a similar isolated house on the promontory of Urun<sup>3</sup> on the mainland: it consists of a rectangular outer court containing traces of rough chambers, and enclosing a well-built citadel of dressed polygonal masonry.

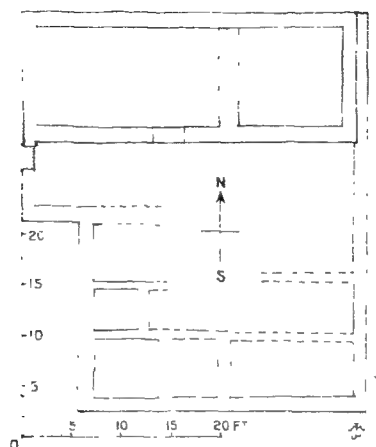


FIG. 3.—URUN: PLAN OF A FORTIFIED HOUSE.

also subdivided into rooms, and with a door threshold on the west side. It appears to be of early Hellenic work, but the few fragments of pottery on the site do not afford any positive confirmation.

At Ghiuk Chalar, the identification of which with PEDASA has been already discussed (p. 193), nearly the whole of the fortifications of the nameless town are preserved, and foundations of houses within; but the site has been much denuded, and is now overgrown with trees. Outside the town, in



FIG. 4.—GHIUK CHALAR FROM THE W.

a valley which runs westward into the plain of Bitès, is the substructure of a large building of rough native masonry. This was probably the temple of Athene to which Inscription No. 4 belongs. The necropolis is extensive, and contains many fine chambered tumuli, which will be described below.

On the first slopes of the hills round Ghiuk Chalar, in approaching Chirkan village from the west (but north of the Myndos road, which we had lost), we stumbled at night upon terraces and walls, thickly overgrown. But we could not make anything of them, and were unable to revisit the spot.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ouroun,' the E horn of 'Petasa Bay. Adm. Ch. 1691.

At Episcopi are the ruins of a large Byzantine church. Recent search for building stones has unearthed an inscribed column,<sup>9</sup> certainly brought from Halikarnassos where similar ones exist. The name and position of the village would lead us to think that it is the *ἱερόν* mentioned in the *Notitiae Episcopatum* between Myndos and Halikarnassos.

At Kiurejí the tower already mentioned is of Hellenic masonry: it commands the highest pass on the road, and marks the frontier between the territories of Myndos and Halikarnassos. On the pass itself is a simple rock tomb.

#### TERMERA (ASSARLIK).

Chifut Kalé certainly commands the natural port of Assarlik, and, as has been said above (p. 201), a well-worn road *passes* Assarlik in that direction. Lelegian towns however are not found on peninsulas, nor, what is more important, on heights which, like Chifut Kalé, are equally abrupt on all sides. They usually occupy lofty positions where on one or more sides a precipice saved the necessity of building a wall, but where access on the other sides is comparatively easy. The mediaeval builders, on the other hand, selected peaks which were by nature almost inaccessible, and built fortresses thereon,



FIG. 5.—GHUK CHALAR: E. GATE, FROM WITHIN.

the walls of which are continuous even along the brink of precipices. The Hellenic principle, here as elsewhere, was a wise mean.

The very extensive necropolis, also, has Assarlik for its centre, and not Chifut Kalé. The topography is discussed in detail in *J.H.S.* viii. p. 64 ff. (W.R.P.), where a description of the necropolis is given, and a drawing of a part of the fortress wall. The chambered tumuli described by Newton (*Halikarnassus*, etc. pp. 583 ff.) are in a valley on the north-west of the fortress, and a little to the west of the road from Termira to Myndos. There are chambered rock-tombs in the north face of the acropolis, and in a friable cliff of volcanic tuff, also facing north about half a mile from the town, a little west of the great pinnacles of the range. In a mandra (sheep-fold) here, there are rock cuttings and foundations in the same tuff, which may be an oilpress.

On the south side of Assarlik, near the ridge which joins the acropolis to the ridge where the tombs begin, and just outside the well-preserved postern-gate, there is a large slope of town-rubbish, with much pottery. Most of it is coarse native ware; but in the upper layers we found scraps of

<sup>9</sup> Inscription No. 2 below.

black-glazed and other Hellenic wares which indicate that the site was not deserted in the fourth and third centuries.

On the summit of the hill, which is levelled and supported by a terrace wall of polygonal masonry fitted to the rock, there is a series of large subterranean chambers of rubble masonry which seem to have been covered by barrel vaults of the same rough work. These are probably mediaeval, and indeed it would be remarkable if so commanding a position had not been occupied at least as an outpost by the lords of Chifut Kalé. We saw, however, no characteristically mediaeval pottery.

The only other settlement on the south range is the hill F,<sup>10</sup> on the south-east slope of which are a number of very rough house or tomb platforms, but the site is quite denuded. The peninsula of Kephalkukha (probably the ancient Astypalaea<sup>11</sup>) seems to be quite unoccupied. Probably the whole of the south range and its lowlands belonged to Termera, with the Akcherenda river as frontier in the direction of Myndos.

MYNDOS itself has been described elsewhere, and a drawing of the Cyclopean wall on the peninsula (which, as at Knidos, seems to have been the original town) is given in *J.H.S.* viii. p. 64 ff. (W.R.P.) It has no 'Lelegian' necropolis, and seems to have been, unlike Halikarnassos, a thoroughly Hellenic foundation. The only early monument is the 'Cyclopean' wall, which is unique in this part of Karia.<sup>12</sup> Its continuous importance as a silver working centre is asserted alike by classical and mediaeval tradition and by its Turkish name of Giumushli. The beach round the bay south of the harbour is strewn with masses of slag from the silver-furnaces, one of which is well exposed in the hollow way to Kadi Kalé, soon after leaving the shore. All that remains is a circular pit some four feet in diameter, the sides of which appear to have been lined with clay, and are thoroughly baked into brick. The great silver-mine is to be seen on the range behind the town; the shaft is very irregular, and of great size, and is filled with water to within thirty feet of the surface. There are still veins of silver-lead in this neighbourhood.

On the southernmost and most detached peak above Kadi Kalé is a very small rectangular tower of quite unwrought stones, which would barely deserve notice, but that we found here fragments of quite primitive hand-made pottery, provided with string-holes pierced in the brim, instead of with handles, the paste of which is mere brown mud from the marsh round Kara-toprak, and very slightly fired. So far as we know, this is the only record of Karian culture which is earlier than the sub-Mykenaeen tombs of Assarlik (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 64 ff.).

How far north of the town the coast belonged to Myndos, we cannot say with certainty. The next considerable towns are Telmessos and Karyanda

<sup>10</sup> *c.* map: the hill has no local name.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo 678 *ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ τοῦ ἡπείρου κατὰ τὴν Μυρδιαν Ἀστυπάλαια ἔστιν ἄκρα καὶ Ζεφύριον· εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἡ Μυρδος, λιμένα ἔχουσα.*

Zephyrion is the promontory between Kadi Kalé and Giumushli, *c.* below p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> It very closely resembles the wall of Arkesine in Kariathos.—W.R.P.

(at Kara Dagħ and Ghiöl respectively, *v.* below, and *J.H.S.* xiv. 373 ff.) But there are several small unidentified sites along the intervening coast, and as, for the fifth century at all events, we have a series of unidentified names for this same neighbourhood, it is worth while to attempt to bring them together.

The names are contained in the tribute-lists of the Athenian League, which, though their arrangement is generally most irregular, occasionally give short sections in geographical order; as though the logbook of one or other ἀργυρολόγος ναῦς had been transcribed at once on its arrival in Athens, and without filling in omissions from other sources. Sometimes, as in the case quoted above (p. 201), the route of a collector can be traced when he leaves the ship and goes up country. The lists which interest us here are as follows:—

450	446	445	443	442	440	436
<i>Ol.</i> 82. 3.	<i>Ol.</i> 83. 3	<i>Ol.</i> 83. 4	<i>Ol.</i> 84. 2	<i>Ol.</i> 84. 3	<i>Ol.</i> 85. 1.	<i>Ol.</i> 86. 1.
Ἰασῆς	Ἰασῆς	Ἰασῆς			[in reversed order]	Ἀλικαρνασσός
Πριανῆς						Λάτμιοι
Κινδυῆς			Ληψυανδῆς	Ληψυανδῆς		Ἰασεῖς
Βαργυλιῆς			Καρνανδῆς	Καρνανδῆς		
Καρνανδῆς	Καρνανδῆς					
Πασανδῆς	Πασανδῆς					
Μαδνασῆς		Μαδνασῆς	Μαδνασῆς	Μαδνασῆς		Μάδνασσα
Πελεῖται	Πελεῖται	Πελεῖται	Πελεῖται		Πέλεια	
			Μύν]δ[ιοι			
			Καλ]ύδ[ριοι			
			Τερ]μερ[ῆς		Τέρμερα	
					Ἀλικαρνασσός	
					Παρπασιῶται	
					Βαργύλια	

Putting the lists of 450 and 443 together we have a continuous itinerary from Bargylia (when the Kindyan tribute is brought down to the sea) to Termera. Between Karyanda and Myndos three small towns are mentioned, Pasanda, Madnasa, and Pelea. We know from other sources that Madnasa or Medmasa (Plin. *H.N.* v. 29) is in the near neighbourhood of Halikarnassos. The only Pasanda the site of which is established is the 'scala' or harbour-town of Kaunos in Lykia (see Stadiasmos M. M. in *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i. p. 495). This Pasanda is certainly that mentioned in the tribute-list of *Ol.* 86. 1 (436 B.C.) Καύνιοι—Τηλίνδριοι—Πασανδῆς—Καρβασσανδῆς παρὰ Καῦνον. In the earlier lists however there is sufficient evidence to make it probable that there were two Pasanda's. In the list of *Ol.* 84. 4 the Καύνιοι Πασανδῆς are entered as paying a half talent, the usual sum paid by Kaunos. In the list of 82. 3, besides the Pasanda next to Karyanda in the extract cited above, there is found in a previous column another Pasanda standing among more southerly surroundings. We may assume from this that where Kaunos is cited *apart from* Pasanda in the earlier lists, the latter is the northern town in the peninsula of Halikarnassos.

The corresponding sites north and east of Myndos, towards Bargyia are as follows :—

AZAJIK ('open-month') is a very small fort or fortified farm occupying a little plateau between Mandrais and Gerési (Garah of Adm. Chart. 1546). The inner chamber within it (Fig. 6) is roofed in native fashion with a 'false arch,' and is entered by the passage which descends to it from the east side of the platform. Outside the fortress, and a little to the right of the entrance, the circle of an oilpress is cut in the rock.

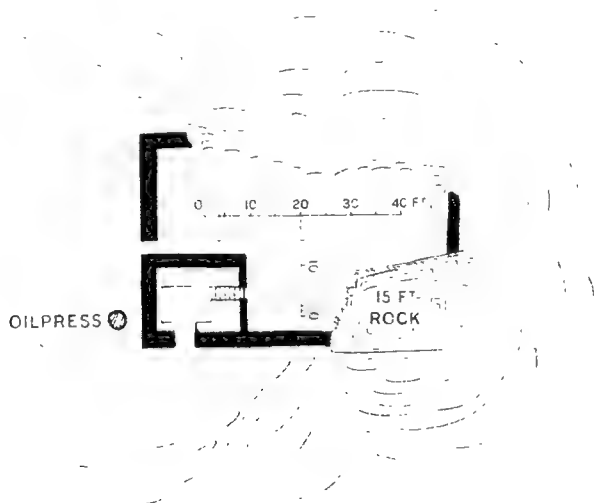


FIG. 6.—AZAJIK.

BORGHIAZ, the fortress near the village of Gerési, was a place of more importance (Fig. 7). The beautiful tomb on the summit north of it is described *J.H.S.* viii. p. 78, and the chambered tumulus on the western slope below the fortress itself is discussed below with the rest of its class. The fortress was evidently originally Karian, but has received important Hellenic additions, perhaps from the family who built the great tomb. The summit of the hill is level, and is crowned by a keep or watch-tower; but as the whole of the eastern side and part of the western are defended by steep rocks, there was no necessity for a continuous wall. The outer wall cannot be traced to N.E. beyond the point marked. The Hellenic masonry is easily distinguished from the earlier work, and is differently shaded in the plan. Owing to the dense undergrowth it is impossible to make sure of the course of the primitive wall (Pl. IX. 1) which appears here, and to establish its relations with the fortress above. On the southern side the fortress was approached along the ridge by a gentle slope. Its gate was naturally on this side, and near it apparently stood a building of the Doric order, as the people of Gerési had found a block of a frieze with a triglyph, in digging for stones. A little excavation would probably yield interesting results.

On the high ridge east of the peak Q (*c.* map) are several tumuli like those of Ghiuk Chalar, which may belong to the Gerési site, but are nearly an hour distant; a well-worn road however crosses the lowest point of the ridge to descend the Dere Keni valley. A ruined 'Lelegian' building on the peak itself seems to have been rectangular and might have been either a watch-tower or a tomb.

South of the village of TREMIL there is a small fortress cut out of the boss of rock at the top of an isolated and fairly steep hill, so as to leave a sunk platform, very fairly levelled, and partially surrounded by a natural parapet on the east and west. In the centre of the north side a tower of rock

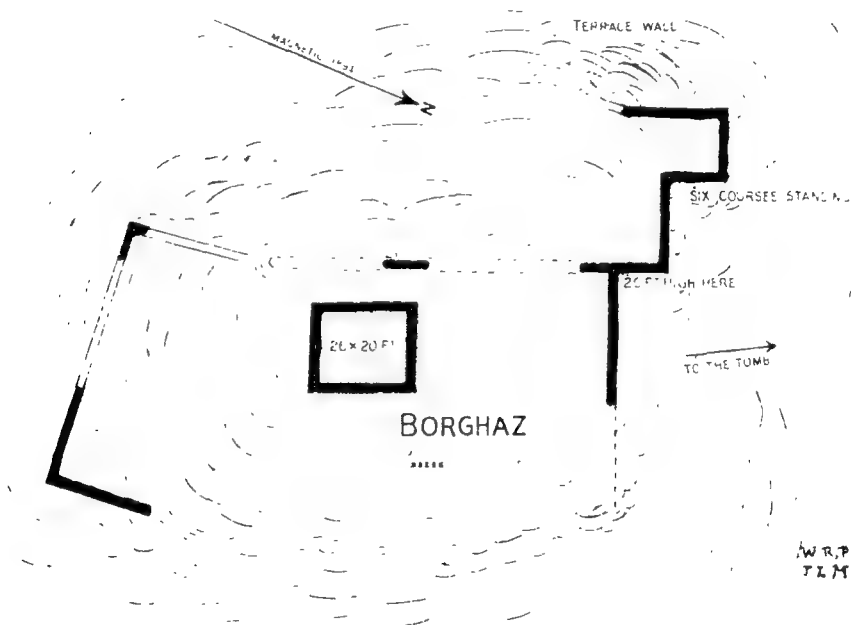


FIG. 7.—BORGHAZ.

has been left, some 15 feet high, on which there are remains of walls. On its east face is a rectangular projection, also cut out of the rock, but only 8 feet high, which is hollowed into a small bank. At the south end of the rock-parapet of the west face there may have been a gateway with southward exit obliquely under the wall. The southern face of the hill is crowned by a rectangular building, of which only a few courses remain, of rather better masonry. In the middle of its outward wall is a projecting platform 2 feet to 3 feet above the uneven ground, with four hollows like washing-troughs, averaging about 1'6" + 1'10" in length and breadth. In the platform behind is a cistern cut in the rock, 17 feet long, 13 feet wide, and about 8 feet deep, partly choked with stones. West of this the platform is divided by the foundations of a wall into two courts, of which the southern is about 2 feet lower than the northern. The northern court is defended by walls of poly-

gonal masonry, and there are traces of an outer wall at the north-west corner. Below the village there are a few rock-cut tombs.

Mr. Kallisperi of Kalymnos, who accompanied us throughout our journey, suggests that Tremil preserves the name of Termile. Stephanos says (*s.v.* Τέρμερα): Τέρμερα πόλις Καρίας . . . . Τερμίλην δ' ἐξῆς παραθήσομαι ἑτέραν ἔχουσαν γραφήν, τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν, ὡς οἶμαι. Evidently this is only his own conjecture, and it may well be that he has heard the two names, and, learning that they are both in the peninsula of Myndos, has wrongly referred both of them to the better known site.

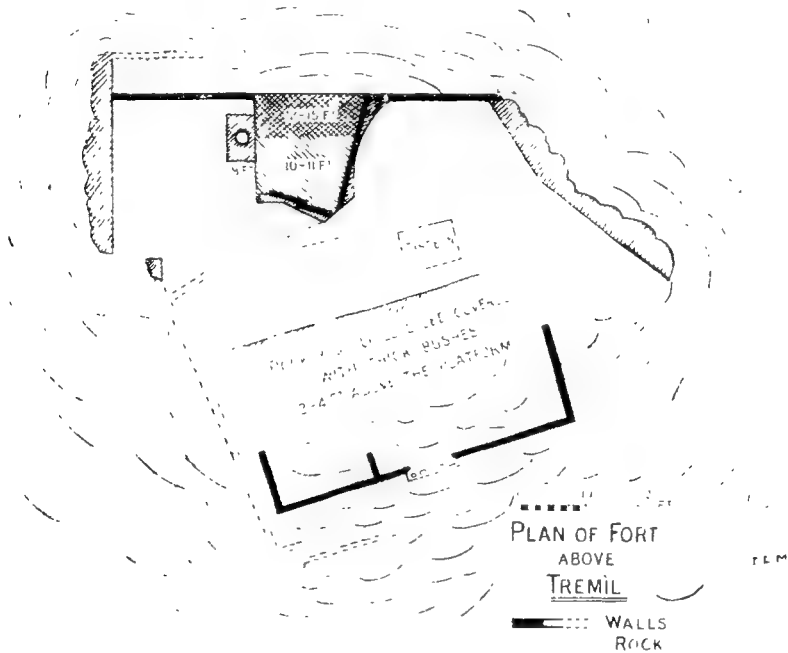


FIG. 8.—TREMIŁ.

There are several more tombs, one with an altar also cut in the rock, described by Newton (*Halicarnassus*, &c., ii. 592 ff. Pl. LXXVII.), about half an hour off, near the west end of the ridge which fronts the bay between Sandama and Farélia peninsula, and others with façades in the eastward cliffs of the former, not far from the isthmus. One of them has several coats of faded fresco painting in the tympanum of the façade. We are clearly on a well established site, which went on into Hellenistic times; but there are no clear traces of buildings, only potsherds on both sides of the isthmus of Sandama, and a mediæval, and at all events late Greek, pottery in the marshy ground at the root of Farélia promontory.

On Farélia promontory itself there are traces of another small settlement, round the house of a shepherd named Arslan, with elaborate rock-cut tombs, one of which Arslan himself occupies, while another serves as his

stable. The outer chambers of both of these have fallen in, and are only preserved in ground plan. There is at least one remarkable tumulus on this promontory.

As the direct road from Episcopi to Pelèn approaches the latter, it is overhung on the west by the lofty precipice of the Turkmen Dagħ (= 'Pyramid Hill' of Adm. Ch. 1546—1604). The northernmost summit of this hill is occupied by a small Lelegian settlement defended on the east by the precipice and along the very steep western slope of the hill by a line of wall very like that of Assarlik. No tumuli have been observed here, but the slopes and ridges beneath the wall are so thickly wooded that it is impossible to say that there are none. The name of the neighbouring village is Pelèn,

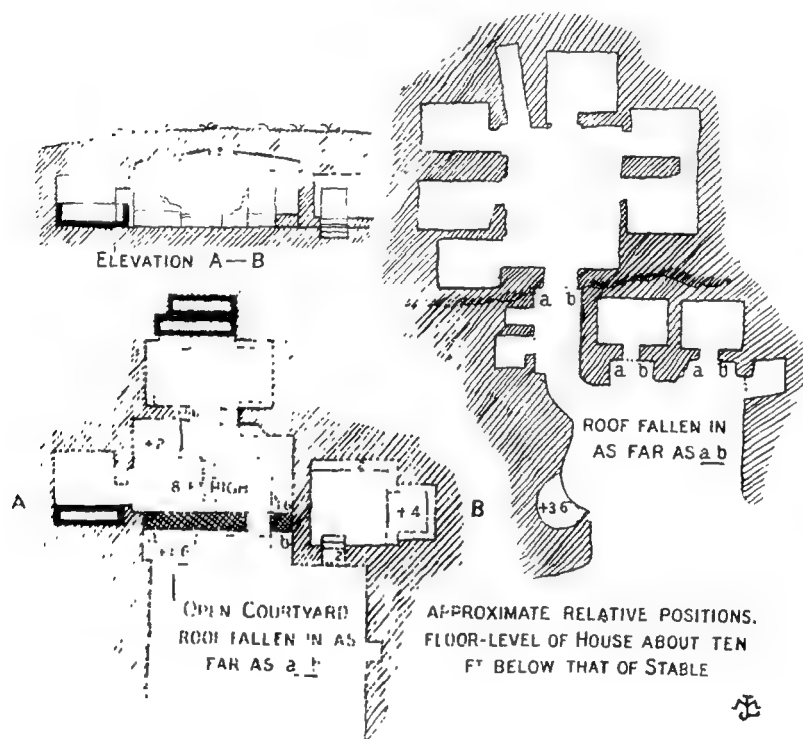


FIG. 9.—AERLAN'S HOUSE (TO LEFT) AND STARIT (TO RIGHT).

and although Pelèn is a well-known Turkish word, we may venture to conjecture that it is an adaptation of the ancient Pelèa.

No inscriptions have appeared either at Tremil, or round the bay, or on either of the promontories. So we have nothing but the indirect evidence quoted above by which to attempt to identify this group of sites.

It is however first necessary to fix the other terminal point of our lists, namely, KARYANDA. Newton placed it long ago at Ghiol,<sup>11</sup> Kiepert more

<sup>11</sup> *Halicarnassus*, &c., ii. p. 597 ff.



recently at Tírandos. Both sites supply Strabo's *νήσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν*; but Tírandos was never a considerable town, and moreover is wanted for the Taramptos of Brit. Mus. Inscr. (Halikarnassos) DCCCXCVI. line 18. Ghiöl, on the other hand, has a fine Karian fortified town, with Hellenic additions, on the tuff escarpment above Farélia village, and a considerable necropolis, Karian, Hellenic and Græco-Roman, extending thence to the bay. We saw also at a house near Farélia Bay a small Corinthian capital found in the neighbourhood, and were fortunate enough to acquire a fourth century bronze coin of autonomous Karyanda found on the western shore of Ghiöl Bay. We have discussed these verifications of Newton's conjecture in detail in *J.H.S.* xiv. 373 ff.

In the same paper we described a most important group of sites on the Kara Dagħ: two towns, a temple site, and a fine chambered tumulus; and identified them as the Karian Telmessos on the evidence of a third century inscription found on the temple site, and now built into a house in the village of Pelèn. Kiepert had placed this Telmessos at Ghiöl.

Karyanda then being at Ghiöl and Myndos at Giumushli, the sites on the Kara Dagħ, the Turkmen Dagħ and at Tremil being appropriated to Telmessos, Pelèa and Termile respectively, and Azajik being merely a fortified farm, we are left with two sites, Sandama and Borghaz, to assign to the two remaining names.

So far as early remains go, Borghaz is far the more important. Madnasa in the tribute-lists paid two talents, while Pasanda and Pelèa paid but half a talent each. This puts Madnasa at Borghaz and Pasanda at Sandama.

But the order of the names in the list puts Pasanda west of Madnasa: that is, either Pasanda must go to Azajik, which is very unlikely, or Madnasa must go to Sandama, and Pasanda to Borghaz.

Consequently, until more positive evidence is forthcoming, we are in a philological dilemma. Does the word Sandama come by metathesis (quasi *a | madnas*) from Madnasa, or by syncope (quasi *ψανδα*) from Pasanda? And may 'Pasha'-linàn in Sandama peninsula be a corruption of the latter name? (W.R.P.)

#### IV.—*Sites in Latmos and Grion.*

##### CHALKETOR.

Strabo (xiv. 1, 8) says that the eastern termination of Grion is in the neighbourhood of Euromos and Chalketor. The site of Chalketor is discovered by inscriptions 28-32 at the village of Kara-Koyun ('black-well') at no great distance from Euromos. Just above the village rises a steep hill with a round summit. At some little distance below the summit the hill is encircled by a wall which has been, at some time, purposely destroyed. In its present condition it very much resembles the wall of the Telmessos fortress near Halikarnassos (*J.H.S.* xiv. 373 ff.) and its masonry must have been of the native 'Lelegian' type. Scarcely any traces of buildings exist

within the wall; only some scattered stones just below the actual summit of the hill. This hill is separated by a small valley from another at the foot of whose northern slope lies the village of Kiosk. This other hill is also fortified by a wall, the masonry of which is of the type of the upper wall of Borghaz (Plate IX. I.) and runs for some distance along the west and north faces of the hill. Here it has not been purposely razed, but on the other sides it seems to cease. No traces of buildings appeared within it. These two hill fortresses represent the old Karian Chalketor. The ruins of the Hellenic city are situated on a low spur between the villages of Kiosk and Kara-Koyun. It was never enclosed by a wall. There is no theatre, but there are numerous remains of public and sacred buildings, and one or two large sarcophagi. The houses in the village of Kara-Koyun are almost entirely built of the materials of the old town.

In the time of the Athenian empire Chalketor paid a little less tribute than Euromos (or Hyromos, to give it its proper Karian name). We do not know how long it remained independent. Some coins with a spear-head, for Zeus Stratios, as their type (cf. Baghajik temple) have been attributed to it; but none were found in the village. The inscriptions show that it was a place of some political note in the fourth century and that Apollo was its chief god (Inscr. No. 28).

#### NARASA.

The name is an old Karian one which has survived unaltered. In its neighbourhood we should look for the sanctuary of Zeus Narasos, who is mentioned along with other Karian Zênes in an inscription of Panámara (*Bull. Hell.* xii. p. 86 ff.). Stephanos also has Νάρκασος (Νάρασος?) δῆμος καὶ πόλις Καρίας. For Zeus Narasos cf. *C.I.G.* 2720. 5.

The picturesque and well-watered village lies at the head of a thickly-wooded glen which joins the Derejé Deré.

#### EUREX and BAGHAJIK.

are two fortresses both situated in remote valleys of Latmos and bearing a great likeness to each other. In each case an eminence has been selected which is in itself extremely difficult of access. The smooth and steep blocks of gneiss with deep chasms between them, of which these two hills are formed, require only the addition of little bits of wall here and there to complete the ring of fortification. The fort at EUREX (Turkish for 'hut') is now very difficult of access. At some points steps are cut up the rock, at others, chasms are bridged over. The best preserved bit of wall is part of the inner line of fortification, and defends the actual summit. The lower and outer wall appears from the few fragments that remain to have been of more regular construction. Nearly all the space inside the wall is bare rock, and here and there on the tops of more or less flat rocks

round holes seemingly for the insertion of wooden posts are cut at irregular intervals. In one small space east of the summit, where the rock is covered with soil, one sees erect or prone several door-ways composed of three monoliths. It is not very easy to see what purpose they served as there are no traces of walls in connexion with them and the position of one of them is too near an abrupt rock to allow us to suppose that it was the door of a house. This fortress gives one the idea of having been the stronghold of an old Karian brigand.

#### BAGHAJIK.

The situation of the fortress resembles that of Euren. Here also the natural defence of the gneiss blocks requires only occasional supplements of wall. Steps have been cut in some places to render access possible. The

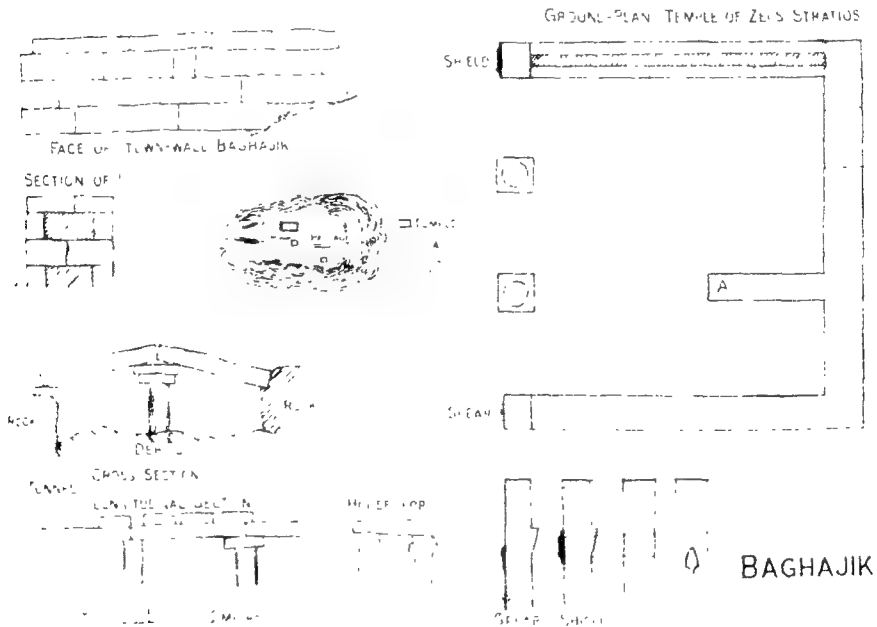


FIG. 10.—BAGHAJIK.

walls are of good Hellenic work: and on the summit is a flat space of some extent with considerable traces of buildings. One large building had two round columns as parts of its support: another well-preserved house with three rooms is of rough masonry with a roughly architectural doorway. Running up where we show it in the rough plan above (Fig. 10, made from memory) is a covered under-ground passage, the course of which runs up as shown in the plan, traceable for about fifteen yards. As the cross-section shows, the passage is cut in the rock and the covering stones are supported in the centre by other blocks resting on a series of pillars.

The chief claim to distinction of this fortress is a building below it to the north-east, which seems to be an old Karian temple of Zeus Stratios (Fig. 10). It stands on the present road which starts from the hamlet of Baghajik, crosses the high ridge, and runs down in a north-easterly direction from the summit of Mount Latmos, towards the village of Chesmé. The façade faces the fortress. The two stones, still erect, which form the *anabae*, are carved in relief with a shield and a spear. Between them stood two columns, now prone; of the northern wall only the foundations remain; of the others only the first course of large stones. Possibly the wall marked A in the plan, the course of which is visible only for a yard or so, may be in a direct line with the southernmost of the two columns. Measurements do not make it so, but the supposition of a slight irregularity is quite justifiable. The plan gives the measure of some fallen stones, still visible but partially buried, so that their height cannot be measured. A slight excavation would supply full materials to an architect for the restoration of the building, but the place is so remote that neither men nor tools could be obtained without attracting attention.

#### ATTAU-LU-SU.

A small Hellenistic fortress. The summit of this high hill very much resembles the Euren and Baghajik fortresses, the geological formation being the same. A specimen of the masonry is given in Pl. IX. 2.

Two lumps of rock A and B are separated by a small level space

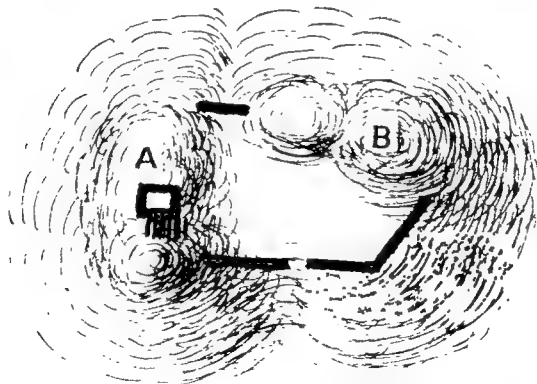


FIG. 11.—ATTAU-LU-SU.

about 150 yards long, the Attau-lu-su<sup>14</sup> which gives its name to the mountain. Lump B, the higher of the two, is quite unscaleable, lump A can only be approached by a rude stair. On it is built a tower which has been purposely destroyed. The level space between the lumps is, where necessary,

<sup>14</sup> Turkish: 'plateau of the horse.'—W.R.P.

protected by a wall. The gate of the fortress is on the southern side and from here a comparatively gentle slope descends to the Karpuzli-Ova. This fortress, like all the other small Hellenistic fortresses, had a purely strategical value: it commanded the road from Alabanda to Mylasa.

## KURUN DERE.

There is a small Hellenistic fortress above the village on a high spur of Grion; in position and size, it strongly resembles Attau-lu-su. Its wall has been purposely levelled. The site had been chosen for four reasons: (1) because it is defended by a brief precipice on the southern side, (2) because in a hollow just outside its walls there is a well (doubtless very ancient) of excellent water, (3) because it commanded the road from Miletos and Herakleia to Mylasa, and (4) because it could communicate by beacon-fires with Attau-lu-su. The depression in the high Latmos range across which the road from Mandelia to Chikùr passes just falls in the line between the two fortresses.

## CARIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

1. *Mynidos*.—A tombstone from the necropolis outside the eastern gate, height 0·50, length 0·90.

ΕΤΙΙΕΟΝΙΧΝΟΣΠΑΡΟΔΕΙΤΑΚΑΙΕΙCΙΔΕΚΑΝ  
ΘΟΝΕΡΕΙCΑC·ΥΠΝΟΥΚΑΙΛΗΘΗCΥCΤΑΤΙΟΝ  
ΜΕΛΑΘΡΟΝ·ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ'////////ΤΕΥΚΤΟΝΟΤΟΙC  
ΙΔΙΟΙCΥΠΟΜΟΧΘΟΙC·ΕΠΑ'////ΡΟΔΕΙΤΟCΕΤΕΥΞΕ  
ΓΟΝΟCΠΙΝΥΤΟΥΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ·ΕΥΦΙ'ΟΝΕΩΝC  
ΕΙΔΩCΤΟΒΙΟΥΤΕΛΟCΟCΑΛΙΑΝΤΙCΜΟΧΘΗCΗ  
ΜΟΙΡΗΠΑΝΤΕCΟΦΕΙΛΟΜΕΘΑ·ΠΑΝΤΩΝ  
ΓΑΡΒΙΟΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΕΛ·ΟCΕΙCΜΑΚΡΟC  
ΑΙΩΝΟΝΔΕΙΚΟΙΜΑ'///ΘΑΙΤΟΙCΥΠΟ  
ΓΗΝΜΕΛΑΘΡΟΙC

Στ(ή)σον ἶχνος παροδείτα καὶ εἶσιδε καν|θὸν ἐρείσας  
ὑπνον καὶ λήθης ὑστάτιον | μέλαθρον,  
μνημεῖον ν[εό]τευκτον, ὃ τοῖς | ἰδίοις ὑπὸ μόχθοις  
Ἐπαφρόδειτος ἔτευξε | γόνος πινυτοῦ Μενελάου,  
εὖ φρονέων, | εἰδὼς τὸ βίου τέλος, ὅσσα λίαν τις  
μοχθήσῃ | μοίρῃ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.  
πάντων | γὰρ βίотου κοινὸν τέλος εἰς μακρὸς | αἰὼν  
ὃν δεῖ κοιμᾶ[σ]θαι τοῖς ὑπὸ | γῆν μελάνθοις.

2. *Episcopi*.—In the ruins of the church, on the flutings of a column: diameter of column, 2 feet 10 inches; diameter of each fluting,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
N	E	M	Δ	K	C						X	Δ	A	A	I	
O	Y	Y	H	P	I						P	P	P	Y		
Y	P	P	M		Γ						O	A	X		M	
	H	Ω	H	I	Σ						Y	K	I		E	Ω
	M	N	T	E	T							O	Π		Λ	N
	O	O	P	P	Ω							N	Π		A	Σ
	N	Σ	I	M	N							T			I	
	O	I										O			N	
	Σ			O								C				
Y	T			Σ								T				
T	O	A	T	Y								O				
O	Y	M	O	E								Y				
Y	Δ	E	Y	Y								A				
Δ	I	Ω		Y												
		Γ														

(2) *Εὐρήμονος τοῦ Δ . . . .* (3) *Μύρωνος [τοῦ] Α . . . .* (4) *Δημητρί[ου] τοῦ . . . .*, and in the same fluting *Ἑρμ . . . .* (5) *Κρίτωνος [Θ]εύ . . . .* (13) *Δράκοντος τοῦ Α . . . .* (14) *Ἀρχίππ[ου]*. (16) *Μελαιν . . . .*

Similar lists of names on columns are not unfrequent at Halikarnassos.

3. *Episcopi*.—In a house near the church.

+ΕΚΑΣΤΟCΤΩΝΕΥΦΟ  
ΝΟΥΝΤΩΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΚΑ  
ΤΕCΚΕΥΑCΑΝΤΟΘΗ  
ΚΕΟΝΠΟΛΥΧΡ.ΟΝΟΥΠΑΝ  
ΡΙΓΤΟΥΚΕΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤC  
ΑΡΙΝΟΥ+ΣΥ////////

+Ἐκαστος (ζ)ῶν εὐ φ(ρ)[ο]γούντων ἑαυτῶν κα|τεσκεύασαν τὸ θη|κῆον.  
Πολυχρον[ί]ου, Παν..ρίστου κὲ Ἐπαφροδίτο[υ] κὲ Μακα]ρίνου + (ἔτους) ΣΥ...

The century 6400 ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου extends from 892 to 991 A.D. The word *θηκαῖον* for a tomb is common in Koan inscriptions of pagan times.

4. *Ghiuk-Chalır*.—Limestone block, height 22 in., width 35 in., front to back 22 in. Letters of the fifth century: about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch high: much weathered. Copied from the stone, and verified from a squeeze.

: : : / ΗΝΑΙΗΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ  
 ΙΒΙΛΛΙ : : : / Λ' ΜΑΧΟΥΜΑΑ : ΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ  
 ΜΕΛΛ ΓΡΟΙ / ΝΕΥΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΔ  
 : : : ΝΤΟΗΜΙΣΥΤΟΥΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΤΟΣ  
 ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ  
 ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΗΣ

ὁ δεῖνα Ἀθηναίη δεκάτην  
 Ἡ]βιάδ[ης Τη]λ[ε]μάχου Μ[αλι]ε[ύ]ς Ἀθηναίη δεκάτην  
 ὁ δεῖνα]Μελ[άνθου]Γρ[ ]νεὺς Ἀθηναίη δεκά-  
 τη]ν τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἀναθήματος

5 ἐποίησεν Μακεδὼν  
 Διονυσίου Ἡρακλεώτης.

Evidently the lower part of the base of an offering dedicated by subscription to Athene. The occurrence of an Athene-cult at Gliuk Chalar confirms the otherwise probable identification of the site with the Pedasa of Hdt. i. 175 (p. 192 ff. above). The names and ethnics (or tribal names) are too much worn to be restored with certainty: read perhaps Κ for Β in l. 2. The artist's signature is new.

The stone lies close to the path which crosses the hollow west of the fortress; a little way up the northern slope. In the hollow is the foundation of a large terrace or basement of rough native limestone masonry.

Melantes occurs as a Chian name in Ditt. *Syll.* 350.

Melanthos at Iasos, *id.* 77. *B.C.H.* v. (1881), p. 493.

5. *Halikarnassos*.—Found, close to the sea, in the garden of the telegraphist. On a marble base, chipped on both sides of the inscription: letters of fourth century B.C.

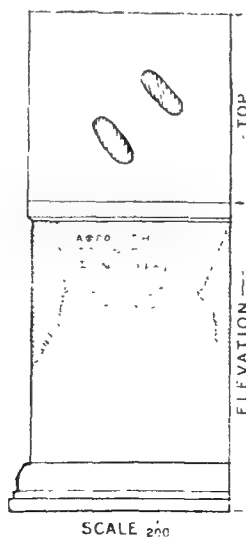


FIG. 12.—INSCRIPTION No. 5.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ  
ΦΑΕΙΝΟΣ  
ΖΗΝΟΔΟΡΟΥ

ΣΣΟΙΤΟΔΕΚΥΠΡΙΚΑΛΟΓΚΑΛΗΙΕΙΣΕΝΑΓΑΛ  
ΊΣΙΝΕΞΕΡΓΩΝΧΕΡΣΙΝΑΠΑΡΞΑΜΕΝΟ  
ΠΡΕΙΠΟΤΕΝΙΜΜΕΓΑΝΕΜΠΟΡΟΝΕΙΣΑΛΛΑΕΒΗΣΑ  
ΞΟΣΙΩΝΟΣΙΟΣΔΩΜΑΣΥΝΕΣΧΕΝΑΝΗΡ

Ἀφροδίτῃ | Φάεινος | Ζηνοδόρου  
Πρέσβυ]ς σοὶ τόδε, Κύπρι, καλὸν καλῇ εἴσεν ἄγαλ[μα  
ἰδρ]σιν ἐξ ἔργων χερσὶν ἀπαρξάμενος,  
οὐνεκ' ἐπεὶ ποτὲ νῦν μέγαν ἔμπορον εἰς ἄλλα ἔβησα[s  
ἐ]ξ ὁσίων ὅσιος δῶμα συνέσχεν ἀνὴρ.

Epigram 1. 2 ἰδρ]σιν: the fragmentary letter is doubtful, but the way the stone is broken suggests Υ or Ι rather than Ε. 1. 4 the first letter is certainly Ξ; the break runs down the vertical stroke.

The supplements in lines 1 and 3 are suggestions of Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf. He also suggests πλήρ]σιν in line 2, which would give an excellent sense, but the letter before Σ was certainly not Ε.

6. *Helikarnassos*.—On a marble block with cornice above. 1.80 m. long, broken on the left. Letters large, with apices.

ΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΑΙΝΕΤΗΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΑΡΕΩΣ  
ΜΗΤΡΙΚΑΙΚΟΡΗΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ

There is no neuter accusative ending in ρος which would express the object dedicated except θέρος. This might be admitted if the dedication were made to Demeter and Kore only, but as it is also made to the Demos the object must have been of public utility. We must therefore suppose that more than the Δη of Δήμητρι is to be supplied in line 2 and must restore the whole as follows:—

Τὸ . . . τοῦ ? κρατῇ]ρος Πανταίνετη Διοτίμου τοῦ Ἀρεως  
ἱερατεύσασα Δή]μητρι καὶ Κόρη καὶ τῶι δήμῳ

7. *Terpe*.—[Copied a good many years ago; no description of the stone.—W.R.P.]

ΦΙΛΙΣΤΑ  
ΤΟΥΗΜΩΙ  
ΚΟΥ ΠΕΚΟ

Φιλίστα | τοῦ ἡμῶ(ν)..... | κοῦ[ἐπ]ισκό[που



8. *Kindyā*.—Formerly in a small church near the site of the temple (see above, p. 196). [The stone has now been removed and I was unable to see it.—W. R. P.] The reading is from an impression. The stone is a wall-block, apparently perfect though chipped. Length '86 m., height '24 m.

*A. on the left.*

Λ////Τ                      ΞΕ  
 ΨΕ////C                  ΝΚΑΛΕΙΕΠΙΤΟ  
 ΙΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΕΥ  
 ΜΕΝΩΝΑ  
 5 ΜΕΝΩΝΕΝΕΚΕΙΝΩΙΤΩΙΨ////////ΑΤΙ  
 ΠΟΤΙΣΑΣΘΩΣΑΝΟ////ΩΣΤΟΥΕΡΙΟΝ  
 ΞΟΔΕΕΝΤΩΙ Τ ΩΙΤΟΠΩΙ  
 ΓΡΑΠΤΑΙΚΑΙΤΟΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ  
 ΔΕΤΑΜΙΑΙΤΕΛΕΣΑΤΩΣΑΝΤΟΔΑΓΓΑ  
 10 ΨΑΤΩΣΑΝΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΤΟ  
 ΞΤΗΣΕΚΛΙ ΣΙΑΣΓΑΤΡΟΘΕΝ

*B. on the right.*

ΝΗ                      ΟΙ ΟΙ  
 ΡΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΟΣΜΕΝΑΝΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝΕ  
 ΠΕΡΙΣΤΑΝΤΩΝΚΙΝΔΥΝΩΝΤΗΝΤΕΠΟΛΙΝΗΜΩΝΚΑΙ  
 ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑΝΤΗΝΤΕΠΑΤΡΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΝΟΜ  
 5 ΠΑΡΕΓΕΝΗΘΗΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΝΔΙΑΔΕΚΑΙΝ  
 ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΤΕΠΟΛΛΑΚΑΙΚΑΛΑΕΨΗΦΙΣ  
 ΠΡΟΕΝΟΗΣΕΝΔΕΚΑΙΠΕΡΙΤΗΣΠΟΜΠΗΣ  
 ΛΕΙΣΘΑΙΕΝΤΕΤΟΙΣΕΠΙΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΚΑΙ  
 ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΤΩΝΑ  
 10 ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΔΙΕΙΛΗΦΩΣΤΟΔΙΑ  
 ΠΕΡΙΣΤΑΝΤΟΣΤΕΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΝΗΜ  
 ΟΛ

These are parts of two long inscriptions engraved on the wall of a building of which this is one of the stones. The beginnings of the lines of *A* and the ends of the lines of *B* were on adjacent blocks. The lines appear to have been long, but there is no clue to their exact lengths.

*A.*

. . . . . τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ γινόμενον ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Εὐ . . .  
 . . . . . μένων . . . . .  
 τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ψ[ηφίσμ]ατι  
 ἀ[πο]τιμάσθωσαν, ὅ[π]ως τοῦ ἐπύον-

5 τος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀναγράφηται τὸ ψήφισμα] τόδε ἐν τῷ [σ]τ[αδί]ῳ τόπῳ  
τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ ὅπου ἀναγέ]γραπται καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ σ(τ)εφανηφόρου  
τοῦ δεινός οἱ] δὲ ταμίαι τελεσάτωσαν τὸ δαπα-  
νώμενον ἀργύριον εἰς τοῦτο· ἐπι]γραψάτωσαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στεφανηφόρου τὸ  
ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος] τῆς ἐκλ(η)σίας πατρώθεν.

## B.

Ἐπὶ στεφ[α]νη[φόρου . . . . . ου . . . . .  
Προσειδώνιος Μενάν[δρου] εἶπεν· ἐ[πειδὴ ὁ δεῖνα πολλῶν καὶ ἀπροόπτων  
περιστάντων κινδύνων τήν τε πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν [χώραν διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
[εὐκαιροτάτην  
ἐπιφάνειαν τήν τε πάτριον αὐτονομίαν διέσωσε καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς πολιτείας  
[τῷ δῆμῳ  
5 παρεγενήθη κατάστασιν· διὰ δὲ καὶ ν[όμων θέσεως . . . . .  
πρότερόν τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐψηφίσ[ατο . . . . .  
προενόησεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς πομπῆς [ . . . . . ὡς κάλλιστα ἐπιτε-  
λεῖσθαι· ἔν τε τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις και[ροῖς . . . . . τῶν  
ἀναθημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀ[πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐπεμελήθη  
10 σεμνότατον εἶναι διειληφῶς τὸ δια[σώζειν . . . . .  
περιστάντος τε κινδύνου καὶ τὴν ἡμ[ετέραν πόλιν  
. . . . .

A 3.—There is not room on the stone for our restoration *ψηφίσματι*, but as the document is somewhat carelessly written (witness the omission of the τ in *στεφανηφόρου*, line 6) it is perhaps allowable to suppose that *ψισματι* stood on the stone.

B line 3.—*περιстан* has been added in the margin. This renders it probable that the adjective qualifying *κινδύνων* ended in *των*. We suppose that the lapidary's eye having skipped from one *των* to another, he afterwards added *των* in the right margin and *περιстан* in the left.

Line 5.—The reading of the latter part of this line is a little doubtful, as there is a crack in the stone which has destroyed portions of the letters.

The person honoured in this decree must have been a very distinguished man. There is talk in line 4 of his *ἐπιφάνεια*, a word strictly applicable only to the intervention of a god in human affairs; but line 6 shows that he was a statesman and not a king.

9. Near *Ulu*.—Over the door of a tomb.

## ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ

10. *Yemikler*.—On the upper surface of a large boulder.

Κ Ρ Κ Ο Δ Ε Ι Ε Γ Η Ι Ε Τ Ξ Ε Τ Ρ Ν Η Π Ε Δ Λ Δ Δ  
7 4 Ρ Κ Σ Υ Δ

We can make nothing of this, which is probably in Karian script. Note the *alph*-like symbol on the right of the top line.

11. *Kırmızı Dere*.—On a rock in an uninhabited glen above the village. Within a circle.



12. *Pispe*.—Small rectangular altar with simple moulding above, height .26, width .20. Beneath the inscription is a large rosette in relief. Letters with apices.

ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΣ  
ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑ' / ΠΙ'Ο  
ΑΒΡΑ ΙΚ'Ο  
(100 tte)

Διόδωτος Διοδώ[ρου | ἱερατεύσα[ς ἤρωι]  
'Αβραικ(ω) |

13. *Pispe*.—Cut to form a Turkish tombstone. Letters with apices.

	ΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ	ΚΥΑΡΙΣΤΟ
ΟΣ	ΛΑΟΣΚΟ	ΙΕΡΑΦΛΦΛΑΡΙΣ
ΝΟΝ	ΤΟΛΑΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΑΡΙΣΤΟ	
ΜΑΤΟΣ	ΛΑΙΣΗΚΑΙΝΙΚΟΛΑΙΣΚΟ	

Διοκλέους [υἱός] Κυ(ρείνα) 'Αριστό(λ)αος Κο(λιοργεὺς). 'Ιέρηα Φλ(αούια) Φλ(αονίου) 'Αριστολάου θυγάτηρ, 'Αριστολαῖς, ἡ καὶ Νικολαῖς Κο(λιοργίς).

The letters on the left are part of another inscription.

This stone has doubtless been brought from Panámará. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xii. p. 253, Nos. 32—35 and 49, where we have dedications by other members of the same family. Not improbably this 'Aristolais quae et Nicolais' is the same as the Nicolais, daughter of Fl. Aristolaus, who is mentioned there (No. 32).

14. *Pispe*.—Small basis. Above the inscription is a crescent.

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΚΑ  
ΤΑΧΡΗ ΜΟΝΑ  
ΝΑΤΙΘΗΣΙΥΨΙ  
ΣΤΩ ΧΑ  
ΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

'Αρίστων κατὰ χρη[σ]μόν ἀνατίθησιν 'Υψίστῳ [εὖ] χαριστήριον.

15. *Yerkessan*.—Small fragment complete on the right.

ΕΡ	‘Υπ]έρ
—ΩΣΣΤΡΑ	. . . . -ε]ως στρα-
ΤΩΠΤΕΡΑΝ	-τηγήσαντος ἐπὶ] τῷ πέραν
ΕΟΙΣ	. . . θ]εοῖς

L. 3. τῷ for τοῦ: for similar formulae cf. Ditt. *Syll.* 137. 4: 200. 17: 242. 26.

16. *Akhar Kevî* (near Stratonikeia).—Built into the street wall of a house. Above the inscription is a rude full-face portrait of the head and shoulders of the defunct.

(hust)	
ΓΛΑΦΥΡΑΚΑΙΧΡΥ	} α
ΣΙΠΠΟΣΖΩΤΙΚΗΤΗ	
ΙΔΙΑΘΡΕΠΤΗΜΝΙΑ	
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ	
ΝΙΑΤΩΤΙΤΙΤΠΦΟΡΠ	} β
ΤΕΚΝΩΝΙΠΙΛΙΧΙΑΙΕΝ	
ΚΟCCΜΩ	

(α) Γλαφύρα καὶ Χρύ[σιππος Ζωτικῇ τῇ | ἰδία θρεπτῇ μνία<sup>s</sup> | ἔνεκεν.

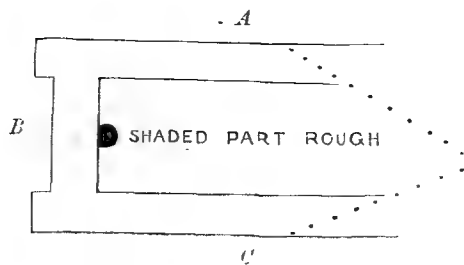
The graffito which follows is written outside the hollow prepared for the inscription. It is so irregularly written that it is in some cases impossible to be sure what letters the writer intended to inscribe. The ends of lines 5 and 6 (ΤΠΦΟΡΠ and ΧΙΑΙΕΝ) are however quite distinct. The strokes between τεκνων and X are very crowded, and the reading given below is not certain.

(b) ‘Η[(δ)ῖα (Ζ)ωτιτὶ τὶ . . . . i.e. ἡδεῖα Ζωτικῇ· τὶ τὸ φορτί(ον) ?  
τέκνων || ἰλίχ(ι)αι ἐν κόσμῳ. τέκνων εἰλήχεται ἐν κόσμῳ ;

Thus interpreted, the graffito expresses the desolation of the survivors.

17. *Teichimussa*<sup>15</sup> (Kara-Koyun).—On three sides of a rectangular block of marble, ‘60 m. long, ‘47 m. broad: the height cannot be measured. The upper surface is left rough, except a broad draft round the edges: the black dot in the drawing indicates a hole.

<sup>15</sup> Identified by Waddington and Kiepert. all brought from Yeronda (Bianhida) to build churches, etc. The visible ruins are all Byzantine, and the ancient marbles found here seem to have been



A.

	ΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ	} α {	-γένης νεώτερος
	ΙΝΝΙΩΝΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΑΡΓΑ		..... λιννιῶνος, δήμου Ἀργα-
	ΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ		... .. κλέους τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου,
	ΑΡΙΣΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΗΒΙΛΕΩ		... .. ἀρίσου τοῦ Βηβιλέω,
5	ΧΑΙΤΑΔΩΝ ΦΡΗΤΡΑΣ		..... χαιτάδων φρήτρας,
	ΚΗΗΟΥ ΓΑΤΗΡΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΗ		..... κη ἡ θυγατήρ αὐτοῦ μη-
	ΕΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ	b	..... έους, τοῦ Φιλίδου, τοῦ
	ΗΡΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ		... Νικ]ηράτον τοῦ Νικοστράτου,
	ΤΕΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΔΕΑΡ		..... τέου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἀρχ-
10	ΕΑΠΟΤΗΣΕΚΑΤΟΣΤΗΣ		... ἔτους δ]ὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς
	ΙΥΜΠΙΑΔΟΣ ΚΑΘΙ ΝΕΝΙ		..... Ὁ]λυμπιάδος καθ' ἣν ἐνί-
	ΚΥΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΥΓΜΗΝΔΕ		..... Κερ]κυραῖος, πυγμήν δὲ
15	Σ ΜΟΥ	ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΘΕΩΝΟΣ ΑΝΗΡΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ	} c { [.....] προφήτης [προφήτης] Θεών Θεώνος [Σίμος Σί]μου ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής, [ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής]
	ΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΟΙ		} d { καὶ φιλόδοξος, καὶ φιλοποι-
	ΜΟΥ		[ητής ...]
	ΥΤΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΙ		..... ? Νικοδῆ]μου
	ΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ		..... α]ὐτενιαντοί
			.... τ]οῦ προφήτου
20	ΛΕΥΜΕ	} e {	... .. το]ῦ Εὐμέ- -νούς]

B.

ΟΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ	ὁ προφήτης Μ[άρκος Ἀντω- ?
ΝΙΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΙΟ	-νιος Λευκί[ου υἱὸς Οὐε-
ΛΕΙΝΑΡΟΥΦΟ	-λείνα Ροῦφο[ς εὐεργετής
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΑΓ	καὶ πρῶτος ἀγ[ωνοθέτης τοῦ

δ ΑΙΩΝΟΣΠΕΜΓ	<i>αἰῶνος πέμπ[του . . .</i>
ΚΛΗΡΩΘΕΙΣΜΟ	<i>κληρωθείς μύ[νος . . .</i>
ΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝC	<i>παραγενόμενο[ς . . . .</i>
ΤΟΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΑΥΤ	<i>τὸν κληρὸν αὐτ[οετῆς . . .</i>

℄. Very little remains. 19 m. from the top blank; then :—

ΓΕΒΗ	<i>ἀνὴρ εὐσεβῆ[ς καὶ φιλό-</i>
ΚΑΙ	<i>-δοξος] καὶ [φιλοποι-</i>
Ι	<i>-ητής] . . . . .</i>

In *A* five hands are to be distinguished as shown in the transcript: viz. (*a*) the late hand of line 1: (*b*) ll. 2–12; (*c*) ll. 13–15; (*d*) ll. 16–19; (*e*) l. 20.

The letters  $\Sigma$  ΜΟΥ on the left, opposite ll. 13–14, belong to (*d*).

We must therefore isolate lines 13–15, *προφήτης Θέων Θεώνος ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής* and consider line 16 as belonging to another earlier inscription of which the  $\Sigma$  ΜΟΥ, i.e. *προφήτης* [ὁ δεῖνα . . .]μου, is the beginning. It probably continued (line 16): *ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής καὶ φιλόδοξος καὶ φιλοποι[η τῆς]. ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙ* is certain, and there were no more letters in this line: *φιλοποιός* is improbable. In lines 17–19 we have another inscription in the same or a similar hand. It contains the word *α]ὐτενιαυτοί*, corresponding to the *αὐτοετής* of other stones from the same site (see *I.B.M.* iv. p. 94). It is a great pity that the chief inscription (lines 2–12), with its elaborate dating, is so imperfect. In line 9 the dates of the local magistrates finish, and then we have the Athenian archon and the Olympiad. Lines 9–12 must be thus restored—

Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἄρ-  
χοντος . . . . . ἔτους δ]ὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς  
ἑβδομηκοστῆς πρώτης (*vel* τρίτης) Ὀ]λυμπιάδος καθ' (ῆ)ν ἐνί-  
κα στάδιον Παρμενίσκος Κερ]κυραῖος πυγμῆν δὲ  
ὁ δεῖνα . . . . . τρίτου ?]

The name of the victor in the boxing contest is given because Parmeniskos won the stadion twice.

*B.* The hand is similar to hand *c* of *A*. About 10 letters are missing in line 1. Lines 1 and 2 are to be restored—ὁ *προφήτης* (Μ)[*αρκος* . . .] *νιος Λευκίο* [*υ υἱός* . . .]. The inscription finishes with line 8. We do not attempt its restoration, but its context seems to throw some light on the significance of *αὐτοετής*.

Hirschfeld's explanation of this obscure word is that the prophet 'entered upon his office in the same year as his predecessor, who may have died in office.' Now all these inscriptions are laudatory. Every incident mentioned, every quality, is a term of praise. One of the prophets (Lebas-Wadd. 239) is

an Epicurean philosopher and a descendant of Ajax, and tells us nothing more about himself. Others (I daresay our Epicurean was a stingy man) tell us of the money they have spent for public purposes and of their other public services. Most of them tell us simply, in a phrase which became stereotyped, that they were pious and fond of fame (*ἀνὴρ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόδοξος*). One of them (*A* 13—15) cuts out *φιλόδοξος* and merely lays claim to piety. Another (*B.M.* 923 *b*) says nothing about himself at all; another (*ibid.* 921 *b*) says 'he filled certain offices and did all he could moderately well,' which, as Hirschfeld remarks, 'shows a modesty not at all frequent in Greek inscriptions.' On the whole we trace a personal element in these inscriptions, a prevailing desire to swagger, and a revolt against it generating restraint and modesty of utterance. Even the elaborate dating of *A* is, taken together with the rest, an expression of the desire of that prophet to shine as a man of universal views and a man of minute accuracy. It is neither to a prophet's credit, nor to his discredit, that he should enter on his office in the same year as his deceased predecessor, and we may be sure that *αὐτοετής* conveys some notion of praise or blame—presumably of praise. The plural *αὐτενιαντοί* in *A* 18 is indeed (*whatever* be the context) fatal to Hirschfeld's suggestion. It rather looks, from the context of *B*, as if *αὐτοετής* meant 'entering on his office in the same year in which he was elected,' and we may, probably, accept it in this sense, and defer conjecture about what merit lay in this, until the discovery of more stones enables us to have a clearer notion of the conditions of election of the prophets.

17. *T. Irkioussa* (Kara-Koyun).—On the lower face of a Byzantine capital, 45 × 28 cm.: the letters have large apices.

(*a*)    L Ω \_ Π Π  
           ○    ΤΩΝΔΙΟΝΥΣ  
           ΠΟΥΚΑΙΑΜΦΙΘΕΜΙΟΣΤΟ

(*b*)                            ΙΤΟΥΔΗ,  
 5            ΑΤΡΙΣΙ ΑΤΡΙΑΣΕΥΣ

(*c*)    ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ  
           ○ . . ΙΟΣ[Θ]ΑΡΓΗΛ[ίου  
           κατὰ φύ]ΣΙΝΔΕΔΙΟΔ[ώρου  
                                 ΩΝΣΤΕΦ[ανηφοροῦντος  
 10                            ΦΑΝΙC

There are three hands: (*a*) lines 1-3; (*b*) lines 4-5; (*c*) lines 5-10. (*b*) should seemingly be restored: *προφήτης ὁ δεῖνα . . . ]ίτου, δῆμ[ου . . . ἀνὴρ φιλόπ[ατρης, [π]ατρίας εὐσεβ[οῦς*. P. read *πατρίας* on the stone, but does not feel sure of the ΠΑ on the impression. (*c*) the name of the prophet does not seem to be *Διόδωρος*, as the letter before the second Ο must be Ι, and not Ρ: perhaps *Δι[ο]νύσ[ιος]*. We find a *Διόδωρος Θαρρηλίου* in *B. M. Inscr.* No. 924 *a*.

18. *Trichionessa* (Kara-Koyun).—Irregularly written and difficult to read, as the stone is worn. The letters have slight apices.

	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
	. . . . .	ΛΙΠ
	ΙΟΥ	ΙΑΣΩΝΝ ΜΑΧΟΥ
	ΟΣΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ	ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣΝΙΚΟΜΑΧ[ου
	ΙΔΩΡΟΣΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ	ΑΙΙΓΕΝΗΣΦΕΡΕΚΛΕ[ους
5	ΝΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ	ΟΥΛΙΑΔΗΣΜΕΝΙΓΓ[ου
	ΜΕ]ΝΙΓΓΟΥ	ΧΑΙΡΕΑΣΛΥΣΙΟΥ
	Ν]ΙΚΙΟΥ	ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΙΠΑΤ[ρου
	ΗΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣΑ[πολ]ΛΩΝΙ[ου
	ΙΤΟΣΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ	ΣΙΜΟΣΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
10	ΣΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣ	ΠΥΡΡΟΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
	ΟΣΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ	ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
	ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ	ΜΕΝΟΙΤΑΣΚΟΤΥΟΣ
	ΝΟΝΙΚΟΥ	ΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ . . . .
	ΗΣΡΕΙΣΙΟΥ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΕΡΙΚ
15	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΜΕΙ
	Ἀπο]ΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ	ΑΠΕΛΛΙ . . . .

In *b.* 2, if we are to restore Ν[ικο]μάχου, ΙΚΟ was written in a very small space. The reading in *b.* 4 is uncertain, but Ἀ(ρ)σιγένης is more probable than Ἀρχιγένης: probably a slip, as is evident by comparing the duplicate inscription from Amyzon, No. 35 below (*q.v.*).

Letters Υ Σ Α Μ (sloping a little), ο Ω ΓΓ (ο and Ω both very small).

19. *Teichionessa* (Kara-Koyun).—On a column, height .93, diam. .49, letters of fourth century B.C.

ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ  
ΤΟΝΚΙΟΝΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ  
ΑΣΤΙΑΔΙΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ

Μητρόφαντος | Ἀπολλωνίδου | τὸν κίονα Ἀρτέμιδι | Ἀστιάδι δεκάτην.

20. *Dere Koyun.*—Ruined church of H. Georgios, on large block of blue marble; .59 × .59 × .71 m. The inscription is near the top.

ΑΙΘΙΣ . . . αιθίς  
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΙΟΥ Αἰσχυλ[ι]ου

21. *Dere Koyun.*—On another similar block, .54 × .54, height unknown; at .15 from the top and not quite in the centre.

ΙΩΒΙΑ Ζωβία  
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ Ἀθηναίου



22. *Dire Kōgynē*.—On another broken block; letters less carefully cut.

ΗΝΑΙΟΣ	Ἀθ]ήναιος
ΧΥΛΟΥ	Λίσ]χύλου
ΓΕΜΙCΙΑ	Ἀρ]τεμισία
ΙΝΑΙΟΥ	Ἀθη]ναίου
ΗΝΑΙΟΣ	Ἀθ]ήναιος
ΝΑΙΟΥ	Ἀθη]ναίου

These three inscriptions, of different dates, evidently belong to the tombs of members of one family, whose country residence must have been here.

23. *Basil.*—In a street. The letters are so irregularly cut, and the condition of the stone so bad, that it is most difficult to read. I cannot decipher the name of the body to whom the fine is to be paid. It is certainly not *ταμίω*. Lines 5-6 are, to say the least, badly expressed, but no other restoration suggests itself to me.—(W.R.P.)

ΗΡΩΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙ	Τοῦτο τὸ] ἡρώων Αὐρηλι-
ΠΠΟΥΔΙΟΥCΗC	ου . . ἰ]ππου Διονύσης
ΚΝΩΝΑΥΤΟΥ	καὶ τέ]κνων αὐτοῦ
ΙΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΚΕ	καὶ ἐγγόν]ων αὐτοῦ καὶ
ΑΛΛΩΠΡΟΚΕΙΝ	5 εἴ] τινα] ἄλλω πρόκειν-
ΗΤCΙCΠΡΟΙΕΙΤΑ	ται ἐπὶ ῥ]ητοῖς πρό(κ)εῖτα[ι
ΕΤΙCΤΟ . . ΗCΗ	ἐὰν δ]έ τις το[λμ]ήσῃ [θεῖ-
ΔΩCΙΤΩ . IN . ΟΙΑ	ναι ἄλλον] δώσει τῷ . . . .
ΟΧΡΥCΙΟΥΑ	. . . χρυσίου Α.
ΜΙ	. . . μι

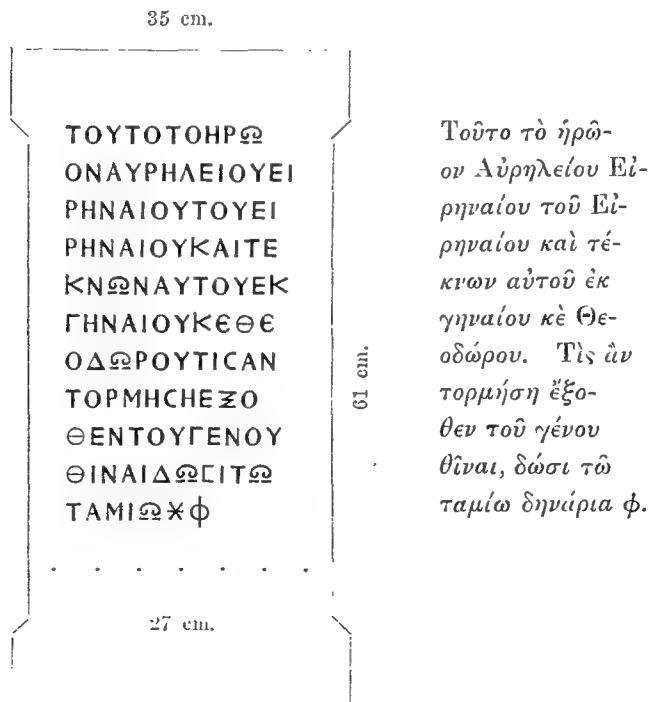
24. *Basil.*—Published, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xiv. p. 629, by Messrs. Doublet and Deschamps.

ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕ	¥
ΑCΑΝΑΨΡΗΛΙΟCΤΑΤΙΑΝΟC	
ΚΑΙΑΨΡΗΛΙΟCΙΩCΙΜΟCΤΟ	¥
ΛΟΙΩΗΑΑΨΤΟΙCΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙ	£
ΑΨΤΩΝΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙCΑΨΤΩΝ	
ΕΙΔΕΤΙCΤΟΡΜΗCΙΕΞΟΘΕΝ	
ΘΙΝΑΙΤΟΥΓΕΝΟΥΔΩCΙΤΩ	
ΤΑΜΙΩ *ΑΦ	

Τοῦτο τὸ ἥρώον κατεσκευ-  
 ασαν Ἀνρήλιος Τατιανὸς  
 καὶ Ἀνρήλιος Ζωσίμος τοῦ  
 Λοιωνα (sic) αὐτοῖς καὶ τέκνοις  
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν.  
 εἰ δέ τις τορμήσι ἔξοθεν  
 θῖναι τοῦ γένου δώσει τῷ  
 ταμίῳ δηνάρια ἀφ.

Republished here from a more complete copy (W.R.P.) than that of the first editors. Note the pronunciation of *τολμήσει* as *τορμήσει*. This orthography is repeated in No. 10. The change of the liquids in this word is familiar from the dialects of Calymnos, the neighbouring islands, and some parts of Crete.

25. *On the road between Mersinet-Yaila and Baji.*—An altar with plinth and cornice, 61 cm. high, 35 cm. diam. (cornice), 27 cm. (inset.).



Chiefly interesting for its bad grammar and spelling.

26. *Mersinli-Tiili*.—Fragment of an epitaph, complete on the left.

ΤΟΗΡΩΟΙ  
ΧΟΥΚΑΙΤΗC  
ΞΙΑCΕΝΙΙ  
ΚΑΙΤ

Τὸ ἥρωον . . . |χου καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ . . . ]|ξίας ἐν [ὧ] κ[ηδευθί-  
σονται αὐτοῖ] καὶ τ[ὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν] . . .

27. *Mersinli-Tiili*.—Stele surmounted by three triangular projections, height 67, width 47 cm.

ΔΕΙΟΝΥCΙ  
ΟCΗΡΩCΧΡΗ  
CΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ  
ΜΙCΗΡΩC  
ΧΡΗCΤΗ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Δειονύσιος ἥρως χρηστὴ χαίρε. Μῆς ἥρως χρηστή (sic) χαίρε.

Μῆς is of course for Μῦς, and must be a man's name. *χρηστή* is an error of frequent occurrence.

28. *Chalkitor* (Kara-Koyun).—Near the ruins of the temple. Marble wall block, perfect beneath. Lines 1—4 chipped on the right.

ΕΙΚΙΗΣΙ Ι  
ΤΛΚ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΟΠΩSΔΕΟΔΗΜΟSΕΥ  
ΤΟΣΩΓΚΑΙΤΙΜΩΝΤΟΥSΑΓΑΘΟΥSΓΝΩΡΙC  
ΤΑΔΕΔΟΓΜΕΝΑΕΙSΤΟΝΑΠΑΝΤΑΔΙΑΜΕΝΗΧ  
ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΧΑΛΚΗΤΟΡΕΥSΙΝΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΤΟΨ  
ΤΟΔΕΕΝΤΩΙΕΡΩΙΤΟΥΑΓΡΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΕΝΤΗΠ /  
SΤΑΔΙΕΙΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΙSΚΑΙΤΟΙSΕΚΓΟΝΟΙS  
ΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΜΕΤΟΥSΙΑΝΩΓΚΑΙΘΙ ΙΠ  
ΧΑΛΚΗΤΟΡΕΨSΜΕΤΕΧΟΥSΙΓΚΑΙΟΤΑΝΟ ΟS

γῆς] (ἐγ)κ[τ]ησ[ιν . . . . . αὐτοῖς  
τ(ε κ)αὶ ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν. Ὅπως δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐν[χάρις-  
τος ὦγ καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς γνωρίζ[ηται καὶ  
τὰ δεδογμένα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα διαμένη χρόνον  
δ δεδύχθαι Χαλκητορεῦσιν ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψ[ήφισμα

τόδε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῇ π[αρ](α)-  
 στάδι· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις [αὐ-  
 τῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετουσίαν ὧν καὶ οἱ[λο]ιπ[οῖ]  
 Χαλκητορεῖς μετέχουσιν, καὶ ὅταν ὁ [δῆμ]ος  
 [ἄγῃ χορικούς ἀγῶνας κ.τ.λ.

There is no line below line 9, so that the decree must have continued on another stone placed to the right of this one.

29.—On the left return of the same stone; larger letters of a somewhat earlier date. Complete on the right.

Ν · Ο \_ \_ ΚΑΙ · ΟΙ  
 ΣΓΕΓΡΑΦΕΝΤΗΒΟΥ[λῆ]  
 . πο]ΡΙΞΕΙΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΤΟΝ  
 ΪΝΑΣΥΜΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥ  
 τῶ]ΝΑΥΤΩΝΗΜΙΝΜΕΤΕ[χ  
 π]ΡΟΣΔΕΗΤΑΙΤΙΝΟΣΟ  
 ἐ]ΞΑΞΕΙΝΤΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΙΗ[γὺν  
 πολι]ΤΑΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΟΜΟΝΟ[οῦντας  
 π]ΟΛΙΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΝΟ[μους  
 ΕΑΥΤΟΝΔΙΑΦΥΛΑ[σσ . . .  
 εὐ]ΝΟΙΑΝΚΑΙΦΙΛΙΑΝ/  
 ΕΝΤΗΝΤ

So much is lost that no restoration can be attempted.

30. *Chalketor* (Kara-Koyun).—In the village.

ΑΙΑ ΩΝ ΙΑΙΗ  
 ΑΡΙ ΥΡΙΟΝ, ΑΡΕΧΕΤΩΣΑΝΤΑΤΕΙΕΡΕΙ  
 ΝΙΤΑΛΟΙΠΑΡΑΝΤΑΤΑΝΟΜΙΣΟΜΕΝΑΕΝΕ  
 ΣΤΗΙΕΟΡΤΗΙΕ ΑΙΡΕΘΕΝΤΩΝΔΕΠΩΙ  
 5 κρε]ΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΓΕΡΑΤΗΙΕΡΕΙΑΙΑΠΟΔΟΝΤ  
 ΛΟΙΠΑΔΙΑΙΡΕΙΤΩΣΑΝΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΑΙ  
 ΟΥΝΤΕΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΤΑΣΤΕΚΕΦΑΛΑΣΚΑΙ  
 ΝΔΟΣΘΙΑΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΠΛΕCΝΑΦΑΙΡΩCΙΝΠΑΙ  
 ΤΑΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑΕΞΕΛΕΓΧΘΕΝΤΕCΑΠΟΤΙ  
 ΕΤΩCΑΝΤΑΑΝΗΛΩΜΕΝΑΕΝΤΗΙΕΟΡΤΗΙ

ἀργύριον (π)αρχέτωσαν τά τε ἱερεῖ[α  
 κα]ὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐν ἐ-  
 κίστῃ ἐορτῇ ἐ[ξ]αιρεθέντων δὲ τῶ[ν] (πῶ[ν] in copy)  
 5 κρέων καὶ τὰ γέρα τῇ ἱερείᾳ ἀποδόντ[ες]

τὰ] λοιπὰ διαιρείτωσαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰ-  
 ρ]οῦντες ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τε κεφαλὰς καὶ [τὰ  
 ἐ]νδύσθια. ἐὰν δέ τι πλεον ὑφαιρῶσιν πα[ρὰ  
 τ]ὰ γεγραμμένα ἐξελεγχθέντες ἀποτι-  
 ν]έτωσαν τὰ ἀνηλωμένα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ.

31. *Chalkitor* (Kara-Koyun).—In a house in the village.

ΑΥΤΗΗCΤΙΒΑCΕCΤΙΝ  
 ΟΝΥΜΟΝΜΕΡΟΝΕΙCΠΟΡΕ  
 ΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ  
 ΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΔΟΥΚΑΙΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥ  
 5 ΑΝΔΡΟΥΔΙCΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛ  
 ΝΕΚΜΕΤΑΧΩΡΗCΕΩC  
 ΤΡΜΑΤΟΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ  
 Ε Π Ι Σ Τ Ε Φ Α Ν Ι  
 Τ Ο Γ Ε Ν Ι Α Ο Ι

Αὕτη ἡ στιβὰς ἐστὶν [ἐκ τῶν εὐ-  
 ωνύμων μερῶν εἰσπορε[υομένοις  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀλεξάνδ[ρου τοῦ Ἀ-  
 πολλωνίδου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐ[ρηλίου Ἀλεξ-  
 5 ἀνδρου δις τοῦ Ἀπολλ[ωνίδου  
 ...ν ἐκ μεταχωρήσεως  
 Ἑ]ρμῆ τοῦ Δημητρί[ου  
 Ἐπὶ στεφαν[ηφόρου  
 Θε]ογενίδου

μεταχωρήσεως is presumably for συγχωρήσεως.

The word στιβὰς for the tomb is peculiar to Mylasa and the neigh-  
 bourhood.

32. *Chalkitor* (Kara-Koyun).—In the same place as No. 13 and 14 :  
 broken on all sides.

	ΕΥΘΕΡΑΣΔΟΥΛ	. . . ἐλευθέρας δούλ[ας . . .
	ΑΙΑΥΤΟΙ[ ] ΑΤΕΛΗΥΓ	. . . καὶ αὐτοὶ [τ]ὰ τέλη ὑπ . . .
	ΙΔΟΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΙCΤ	. . . ὁι[ ]δόναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τ . . .
5	ΣΤΑΟΜΟΥCΚΑΙΝΟΙ	5 . . . σταθμούς καὶ νό[ ]μους . . .
	ΣΜΡΑΣΗΕΡΙΜΕ/	. . . ἐμ[ ] πᾶσιν ἐπιμελ[ ]εία . . .
	ΛΑΙΩΝΧΡΟΝΩΝΕΙ/	. . . ἐκ π[ ]αλαιῶν χρόνων εἰλ . . .
	Υ[ ]ΠΙΤΟΙCΜΗΜ	. . . . . τοῖς μὴ μ . . .

This inscription is of some interest but we can scarcely guess at the  
 context.

33. *Mylasa*.—Built into the steps of a Turkish house. Three lines at the top are concealed.

ΣΙΝΕΝΤΩΙΝΑΩΙΕΦΟΥΣΤΑΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΤΟΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΣΘΕΝΑΓΑΛΜΑ  
 ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΡΑΠΕΙΣΙΑΝΛΙΘΙΝΗΝΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΘΥΡΩΜΑ  
 ΚΑΙΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΝΤΩΠΡΟΔΟΜΩΤΟΥΝΑΟΥΚΑΙΒΩΜΟΝΕΛΕΣΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΙ  
 ΑΝΔΡΑΣΤΩΝΣΥΓΓΕΝΩΝΔΥΟΜΕΝΟΙΤΙΝΕΣΠΟΙΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΤΗΝΕΓΔΟ  
 5 ΣΙΝΤΟΥΤΕΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΤΗΣΤΡΑΠΕΙΣΗΣΔΥΟΔΕΟΙΤΙΝΕΣΕΓΔΩΣ  
 ΣΙΝΤΗΝΒΑΣΙΝΙΑΙ ΤΟΝΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΝΤΟΥΤΡΟΔΟ  
 ΜΟΥΚΑΙ . . ΟΙ ΥΑΞΣ . ΙΓΓΕΙΛΑΝ  
 ΤΟΑΓΛΑ ΩΝ  
 ΚΑΤΑΤΑ ΥΙΩ ΝΗ  
 Ο

. . . . . βα-]  
 σιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐφ' οὗ σταθίῃσεται τὸ συντελεσθὲν ἄγαλμα·  
 κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τράπεζαν λιθίνην· ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ θύρωμα·  
 καὶ τρύφακτον τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ βωμόν· ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ  
 ἄνδρας τῶν συγγενῶν δύο μὲν οἵτινες ποιήσονται τὴν ἐγδο-  
 5 σιν τοῦ τε ἡγάλματος καὶ τῆς τραπέζης δύο δὲ οἵτινες ἐγδώσ[ου-  
 σιν τὴν βάσιν [καὶ τὸ θύρωμα . . . καὶ] τὸν τρύφακτον τοῦ προδο-  
 μου κ[αὶ τ]ο . . . ἐπ]αγγελιάν-  
 τω . . . . .

34. *Amyzon*.—The fragment of a royal letter published by Messrs. Hula and Szanto (*Bericht* (Wien 1894) p. 2) should stand thus:

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος στρατηγοῖς  
 ἱππύρχαις, πεζῶν ἡγεμόσι στρα-  
 στρα>τιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 χ]αίρ[ε]ιν. Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλω-  
 νος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτ]έμιδος τὸ ἐν cetera desunt.

35. *Amyzon*, on the acropolis, block of marble broken above and on the right. The large face bears the end of a decree, on the left return is inscribed a list of names. The latter I did not notice and it is due to the kindness of Prof. Szanto, who discovered and copied this stone a few months before I myself visited Amyzon, that I am enabled to give here his copy verified by his impression of the list of names. I also owe to him the correct reading ΒΑΛΛΑΓΡΟΥ in line 19. I had misread the name. The writing of the inscription is of the third century B.C.—(W.R.P.)

## 1.

- . . . . . ΤΟΝΕΠΙΔΙΔΟ  
 . . . . . ΙΟΥΝΕ . . . . . ΤΕΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΥΠ/ΡΧΕΙΝ  
 ΛΕΓΑΛΑΣΣΥΜΠΕΡΙΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΕΝΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΥ  
 ΠΑΡΧΟΥΣΑΝΣΥΝΔΙΑΤΕΤΗΡΗΚΕΝΟΥΘΕΝΙΕΠ  
 5 ΠΕΡΙΣΠΑΝΠΑΡΑΤΟΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΝΤΗΣΑΥΤΟΥΠΡΟ  
 ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΕΙΣΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣΤΑΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΣΙΝΑΟΥΓΚΑΙ  
 ΦΑΙΝΗΤΑΙΤΙΜΩΝΤΟΥΣΑΓΑΘΟΥΣΤΩΝΑΝΔΡΩΝΔΕΔ  
 ΕΠΗΝΗΣΘΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ  
 ΕΧΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΕΙΣΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΘΕΟΥΣ  
 10 ΣΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΓΚΑΙΘΑΛΛΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙΤΗΝΔ  
 / ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΘΑΙΤΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΕΝΤΗΣΥΝΤΕ/  
 ΟΥΣΙΑΙΤΗΙΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΕΙΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΓΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓ-  
 ΥΠΕΜΠΕΣΘΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΓΕΡΑΣΑΠΟΤΩ  
 ΟΥΣΙΩΓ/ . . . . . ΛΟΟΤΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣΕΥΕΡΓΕΤ  
 15 . ΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ/ . . . . . ΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣΤΟΔΕΥΗΦΙΣ  
 . . . . . ΡΑΣΤΑΔΟΣΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΥΠΥΛΩΝ  
 . . . . . ΕΙΟ . . . . . ΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΑΓΕΓΡΑΓ  
 . . . . . ΤΗΣΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΣΤΟΝΕΝΕΣΤΩΤΑΤ  
 . . . . . ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΝΒΑΛΑΓΡΟΥ

- . . . . . τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν . . . . .  
 . . . . . μεγάλας συμπεριπεποίηκεν προσόδου[ς καὶ τὴν  
 ὑ]πάρχουσιν συνδιατετήρηκεν οὐθενὶ ἐπ[ιτρέπων  
 5 περισπᾶν παρὰ το προσήκον, τῆς αὐτοῦ προ[θυμίας  
 ἀποδείξεις ποιούμενος τὰς μεγίστας· ἵνα οὖν καὶ [ὁ δῆμος  
 φαίνεται τιμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδ[όχθαι  
 ἐπηνῆσθαι Διονύσιον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας[ ἣν παρ-  
 ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, [στεφανώ-  
 10 σαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ, τὴν εἰ[ὲ ἀναγόμεν-  
 σιν] ποιήσασθαι τοῦ στεφάνου ἐν τῇ συντελ[ομένη  
 θυσίᾳ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εὐεργέ[την τοῦ δή-  
 μο]υ, πέμπεσθαι εἰς αὐτῷ καὶ γέρας ἀπὸ τῶ[ν . . . . .  
 θυσιῶν [κ]αθότι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέ[ταις γέγραπται  
 15 ὑ]πάρχειν—αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις· Τὸ δὲ ψήφισ[μα τότε γρά-  
 ψαι τῆς πα[ρ]αστάδος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πυλῶν[ος ὅπου καὶ τὸ  
 . . . εἶν[εν τὸ] τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀναγέγραπ[ται· ἐπιμελ-  
 εῖσθαι δὲ] τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τὸν ἐρεστώτα τ[αμίαν τῆς Ἀρ-  
 τέμιδος] Ἱεροκλῆν Βαλάγρον.

Line 9.—The  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$  are Artemis and Apollo, to whose cultus at Amyzon No. 34 testifies.

Line 15.—*αὐτῶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις* is added as an afterthought.

Line 19.—The restoration *τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* is not by any means certain, as the temple belonged to Artemis and Apollo.

*B.*—On the left return.

	ΑΙΧΙΓΕΝΗΣΦΕΙΕΚΛΕ
	ΟΥΛΙΑΔΗΣΜΕΝΙΠΤΤΟ
5	ΧΑΙΡΕΑΣΛΥΣΙΟΥ
	ΜΕΝΕΚ ΤΗΣΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟ
	ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ
	ΣΙΜΟΣΑΓΓΛΛΙΟΥ
10	ΠΥΡΡΟΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ
	ΙΡΑΤΙΝΤΕΜΙΖ
	ΑΙΤΑΣΦΟΤΙΟΣ
	ΑΛΥ
	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΖΙΟ
15	ΔΙΟΙΣΙΟΣΜΕ
	ΑΠΕΛΛΙ

In col. 2, line 11 Mr. Szanto reads  $\text{IATPC}$ ; in line 16  $\text{APE\AA\Lambda\text{I}\text{C}}$ . The readings I give seem to me to correspond better with what I see on the impression, but are by no means certain.

[This inscription is obviously a duplicate of No. 18 from Teichioussa. The combined transcription is as follows:—

.....	Δημ .....
.....	Ἰάσων Ν[ικο]μάχου
..... ος Ἡρακλείδου	Ἀντίμαχος Νικομάχου
Ἀρτεῖ μίδωρος Ἀμύντου	(Ἀρχ)ιγένης Φει(ρ)εκλέ[ους [35 Φειε-]
5 ..... να Ἀπολλωνίου	Οὐλιάδης Μενίππου
..... Μερίππου	Χαιρέας Λυσίου
..... Ν[ικίου]	Μενεκ[ρά]της Ἀντιπάτρου
..... ης Δημητρίου	Ἑρμογένης Ἀ[πολ]λωνίου [35 corrupt]
..... ιτος Ἀντιπάτρου	Σῖμος Ἀπολλωνίου
10 ..... ς Ἀρτέμωνος	Πυρρὸς Διονυσίου
..... ος Ἑρμογένου	Κρατῖνος Ἀρτεμίδωρου
..... Νικόμαχος [18 ου]	Μενοίτας Κόττυς [18 : 35 Φότιος]



- |                       |                                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| ..... ος (Ξ)ερονίκου  | Ἀπολλώνιος [18: 35 Ἄλυ . . . ?] |
| ..... ης Πεισίου      | Διονύσιος Ἐπικ [18: 35 Διο]     |
| 15 ..... Ἡρακλεί[δ]ου | Διονύσιος Μει [δίου ?]          |
| ..... Ἀπολλωνίου      | Ἀπελλη[ς] . . . . .             |

In B. l. 8. No. 18 has Ἀ[πολ]λωνίου: No. 35 has . . ο . . χι . . which may mean anything except Ἀπολλωνίου. The reading of No. 18 however is invalidated by the fact that Ἀπολλωνίου occurs in *both* inscriptions in the next line: consequently the reading of No. 18 in l. 8 may be mis-copied, and No. 35 alone preserves traces of the true patronymic. It might be further suggested, that, as it occurs in connexion with a formal psephisma, and 'on the wall of the gate of the temple itself' No. 35 has prior authority, and may be the original. But in B. l. 12 Μενόιτας Κότυος of No. 18 is more probable than Με[λι]οιτας Φότιος of No. 35, where ΜΙ is misread for Ν, and the ethnic has been mis-heard in dictation. In B. l. 13, 14 the variations cannot be explained by merely clerical errors.—J.L.M.]

36. Inscriptions of the British Museum, No. 896 [edited by Dr. G. Hirschfeld. 1893].

The stone has recently been cleaned effectually by Mr. Murray's orders and the inscription can be restored with perfect certainty. Owing to its interest, which perhaps may make it worthy of a place in the additional volume dealing with documents of Private Law that MM. Dareste and Haussoulher promise as a supplement to their *Inscriptions Juridiques*, it is worth while to give it here, with the new readings and supplements in type underlined.

- Ἀπο[στ]είλαντος Πο[σ]ειδ[ωνίου] χρ]ησα[μέν]ου  
 τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τί ἂν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 γινομένοις καὶ οὖσιν, ἔκ τε τῶν ἁρσένων καὶ τῶν θ-  
 ηλείων, εἴη λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον ποιοῦσιν καὶ πρίσ-  
 5 σουσιν, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἔσεσθαι λώιον καὶ ἄμει-  
 νον αὐτοῖς ἱλασκομένοις καὶ τιμῶσιν, καθύπερ  
 καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι. Δία Πατρῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Τελε-  
 μεσσὸν μεδόντα καὶ Μοῖρας καὶ Θεῶν Μητέρα ·  
 τιμᾶν δὲ καὶ ἱλάσκεσθαι καὶ Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα Ποσει-  
 10 δωνίου καὶ Γοργίδος, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν  
 καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι.  
 Ποσειδώνιος Ἰατροκλέως ὑπέθηκεν τοῖς ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γινομένοις, ἔκ τε τῶν ἁρσένων  
 καὶ τῶν θηλείων, καὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 15 εἰς θυσίαν οἷς ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν ἀγρὸν τὸν ἐν Ἀστυ-  
πα]λαίᾳ τὸν ὁμορροῦντα Ἀνθεὶ καὶ Δαμαγῆτῳ,  
 κ]αὶ τὴν αὐλήν καὶ τὸν κήπον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον  
 κ]αὶ τοῦ ἐν Τάράμπτῳ ἐνηροσίου τὸ ἥμισυ · καρπευ-  
 ἐ]τω δὲ καὶ ἱερατενέτω τῶν ἐκγόνων τῶν ἐκ Ποσει-  
 20 δωνίου ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὢν αἰὲ κατ' ἀνδρογένειαν,

- ἀποδιδούς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν χρυσοὺς τέσσαρας ἀτελέ-  
 ας ΙΓ ἔδοξεν | Ποσειδωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς  
 ἐκ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ τοῖς εἰληφόσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰρεῖ-  
 σθαι ἐπιμηνίους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν.  
 25 οἵτινες ἀπολαμβάνοντες τῆς ὑποθήκης π[αρ]ὰ [τοῦ ἱ-  
 ερέως ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ μηνὸς Ἑλευθερίου [χ]ρυσ[οῦς  
 τέσσ[α]ρας συντελέσουσιν τὰς θυσίας· ἂν δ[έ] μὴ ἀπο-  
 δίδω, ἢ μὴ θέλῃ καρπεύειν. εἶναι τὰ ὑποκείμενα κ[οι]νὰ, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐπι[μ]ηνίους ἐγιδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ τέμενος εἶναι [κοι]νὸν [κ]αὶ  
 30 τ[οῦς] ἐ[πι]μηνίους ἐγμισθοῦν, καὶ τὸ μίσθωμα καὶ τὸ ἐνη-  
 ρό[σιον] κομιζόμενοι μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος ἐπιμελεῖ-  
 τωσαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας τῷ ἱερεῖ, τὰ νομιζόμενα  
 παρέχοντες εἰς τὰς θυσίας πάντα, τῇ μὲν π[ρ]ώτῃ  
 θύειν Τύχῃ Ἀγαθῇ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Ποσε[ιδω]νίου  
 35 κ[ρι]ὸν καὶ Δαίμονι Ἀγαθῷ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ [Γι]οργίδος  
 κριὸν, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ Διὶ Πατρώῳ κριὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι  
 Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέοντι κρ[ι]ὸν καὶ Μοίραις κριὸν  
 καὶ Θεῶν Μητρὶ αἶγα· ὁ δὲ ἱε[ρε]ὺς λαμβανέτω ἐκάστου  
 ἱερείου κωλὴν καὶ τεταρτη[με]ρίδα σπλήγχων,  
 40 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσόμοιρος ἔ[στω]· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κρέα οἱ  
 ἐπιμήνιοι ἀφελόντες ἱκανὰ τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν καὶ  
 γυναιξίν, μερίδας ποιησάντωνσαν ἴσας καὶ ἀποδόντω-  
 σαν ἐκάστῳ μερίδα τῶν τε παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων,  
 τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοὶ ἐχόντων, τὰ δὲ  
 45 κρῶδια πωλούντων ἐν τῷ θιάσῳ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ  
 λόγον ἀποδιδόντωσαν πρὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀνα-  
 γράψαντες εἰς ὃ ἕκαστον ἀνήλωται, καὶ τὸ  
 περιγινόμενον ἀναλίσκειν εἰς ἀναθήματ[α].  
 Ἀναγράφαι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμόν καὶ τὴν ὑποθήκην  
 50 κ[αὶ] τὸ δόγμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ  
 τεμένει· τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν καὶ ποιού-  
 σιν ἄμεινον γένοιτο ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

In lines 15-16 Dr. Hirschteld reads Ἀ[γ] | ριε |]λαία: in 22 Ποσ<ε>ιδωνίῳ: in ll. 27-8 ἂν δ[έ]· μὴ | ἰδῶν μὴ θέλῃ: l. 29 εἶναι...· ον [καὶ]: ll. 30-1 μίσθωμα καρπευ[σ] | ου[σι]· οἱ νομιζόμενοι μηνὸς: l. 33 παρέ- χοντες: l. 33 τῇ μίε,ν π[ρ]ώτῃ |: l. 34 Ἀγαθῇ Δα[ί]μονος της] μητρὸς Ποσε[ιδω]νίου: l. 35 Ἀγαθ[ῶ] Ποσ[ε]ἰδωνίου...ρι...: l. 38 λ[α]μ[β]ανέτω [ἐκ τοῦ]: l. 39 τετάρτη[ν] με[ρ]ίδα: l. 41 δειπνοῦσι [ταῖς μεν]: l. 42-3 ἀπο- [νειμάτω] | σαν: l. 43 ἀνάθημα (singular).

In line 7-8, Ἀπόλλωνα Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέοντα, for the temple and oracle of Telmessos see *J.H.S.* xiv. 373 ff.

In line 22 ἔδοξεν is marked off by a stop on each side of it.

The text presents no other difficulties, but as regards the general sense of the document a few words may be said.

Poseidonios (lines 12-22) executes a deed charging certain properties of his with a yearly sum of four staters to be paid by his eldest descendant in the male line (who is to have the usufruct of these properties, and be the priest of the society) to his descendants, both male and female, and to the husbands of the latter.

By virtue of this deed Poseidonios himself and his descendants become a society or 'thiasos' capable of making a decree (lines 22 ff.) which requires no ratification by the demos, but is a binding legal document and even imposes on the demos (line 46) the duty of auditing the accounts of the officers of the society. The terms of the decree are as follows. Ἐπιμήνιοι (the usual name of the officers of such thiasoi and meaning 'the offerers of monthly sacrifices') are elected and they are to receive from the priest each year in the month Eleutherios the four staters due by the deed of Poseidonios, and with this sum they are to perform the sacrifices, by which we must understand that they are to buy and furnish to the priest all the necessary articles for the sacrifice—for the actual performer of the sacrifice was of course the priest himself (lines 22-27).

In the following lines (27-33) it is enacted that if the priest does not pay the four staters, or, if he refuses the usufruct of the property that bears this charge, the property is to fall to the thiasos, and its officers are to lease it. So far all is clear. If the priest finds that the annual revenue of the property is under four staters, he is relieved from the charge and transfers the property to the ἐπιμήνιοι who make the best they can of it. Then (line 29) comes a difficulty τὸ δὲ τέμενος εἶναι κοινὸν κ.τ.λ. There has been no mention of a temenos. The solution, I think, is easy, although I may be wrong. The space on the stone between κομιζόμενοι and μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος implies that μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος goes not with κομιζόμενοι, but with ἐπιμελείτωσαν. Then all that follows after μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος consists of the rules to be observed by the ἐπιμήνιοι in spending the four staters, which if they fail to obtain from the priest and fail to obtain by themselves leasing the charged properties, *they are, as an extreme measure, to obtain by leasing the τέμενος itself.* The rent comes in, in any case, in the month Eleutherios; the sacrifices are performed in Hermaion, which succeeded Eleutherios. The same provision is found in the testaments of Epikteta and Diomedon.

W. R. PATON.

J. L. MYRES.

A word may be added as to the Ἀστυπαλαία in line 15. We already know it from Strabo 658 as a headland between Halikarnassos and Termera. Kiepert (*Berl. Sitzungsberichte*, 1893) has, to my mind, satisfactorily demonstrated that this name (a corruption, as it seems, of a Phoenician word) was given to sites now called Κέφαλος or Κέφιλα or Κεφαλοῦχα: high headlands connected with the mainland by low isthmi. We have therefore placed Astypalaea in our map at Kephalukha.—(W.R.P.)

## KARIAN SITES AND INSCRIPTIONS.—PART II.

[PLATES X., XI.]

### V.—*The north side of Mt. Latmos; with notes on the sites of ALINDA, KOSKINIA, and HYLLARIMA.*

A SHORT journey round the north side of Mt. Latmos, undertaken in the autumn of 1896, has enabled W.R.P. to complete his investigation of the ancient sites of this neighbourhood. The purely geographical results are appended to our paper in *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* ix. (*January*, 1897), and are incorporated in the map which, by the courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, we are able to append to this account of the archaeological results. The latter are arranged in geographical order along the actual route.

At Sirgin Kishla on the Deniz Liman (Latmic Gulf) the fortified site or 'kastron' turns out to be a late mediaeval settlement.

At Yevreli Keui, in the Kisir Chai valley, on the edge of a steep torrent-bed, is a double terrace-wall of massive masonry, with an abundant spring close below it. In the village, in the possession of the *haja*, are the following inscriptions:—

37.<sup>1</sup>—On a block of marble, rounded at the top: '72 m. wide, '60 m. high:—

ΚΑΙΙΑΥΡΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΦΟΙΒΟΥΜΕ  
ΡΟΥΣΤΡΙΤΟΥΕΙΣΙΟΝΟΣΔΕΞΙΑΣ  
ΧΕΙΡΟΣΕΙΣΟΚΑΙΤΑΦΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ  
ΠΑΝΤΕΣΑΥΤΟΥΟΙΕΚΤΟΥΓΕ  
Ω ΝΟΥΣΚΑΤΑΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΙΝ

..... καὶ Αὐρ. Ζώσιμος Φοίβου μέ-  
-ρους τρίτου εἰσιόντος δεξίας  
χειρὸς, εἰς ὃ καὶ ταφήσονται  
πάντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γέ-  
Ω -ρους κατὰ συγχώρησιν.

<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions are numbered to follow those in our former paper.

38.—On the upper surface of a large block of white marble: 1·10 m. long: no traces of any other letters.

HPA

ηπα

EE

εε

Near Yevreli Keui and Akhlat, tombs of Latmian forms (Type VI) are frequent and conspicuous.

An ancient paved road can be traced from the neighbourhood of Old Chavdar up to that of Arabarli Kalé, which it passes, and then (according to local information) divides into two branches, one of which goes towards HERAKLEIA, the other to Baghajik,<sup>1</sup> where a similar fragment of road can be traced passing the temple of 'Zeus Stratios,' and thence towards Mylasa. On the north side below Chavdar the road must descend into the Maeander valley; but it has not been traced except in the difficult highland section. The pavement is about six feet (2 m.) wide, and is composed of large smooth blocks of the native gneiss; it is carried over very broken country, scored by many steep ravines with fantastic ridges of rock between; and it is supported in parts by terrace-walls, and crosses streams by bridges of well-squared masonry. The road might well be of the same date as the Baghajik temple, i.e. of the fourth or third century B.C.

The 'Kastron' at Arabarli Kalé, though it lies on this road, is not a Hellenic site, but apparently a fortified mediaeval monastery, the position of which has very probably been determined by the existence of the earlier means of communication.

At Teké Kalé is a conspicuous and admirably preserved fortress of Hellenic work, of which a plan is given in fig. 13. It stands on the highest point of the hills between the upper basin of the Karpúzli Chai and the valley of the China Chai (MARSYAS), and commands a wide view both north and south, being visible both from AMYZON and from Attau-lu-su. Together with Attau-lu-su and Kurun Deré,<sup>2</sup> it forms a complete chain of signal stations between Tralles, or any other point on Mt. Messogis, and Mylasa and the whole of western Karia. The top tower of the fortress (fig. 14) is a characteristic example of Karian military architecture; while the line of chambers round the outer wall suggests comparisons with the casemates of the walls of Carthage.

That Teké Kalé was something more than a mere signal-station is indicated by the presence of numerous ordinary Latmian tombs of our Type VI, together with one of unusual form, which is described in detail on p. 259 fig. 37-38.

The fine city site at Demirji Deresi, first visited by Pococke, and Chandler (I. p. 235), has been rightly identified with ALINDA. Kiepert formerly placed ALINDA at Kapraklar near Mesevli, and gave Demirji Deresi to KOSKINIA,

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 212.

Attau-lu-su is visible, *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 213-4.

<sup>2</sup> The only point on Mt. Gion from which

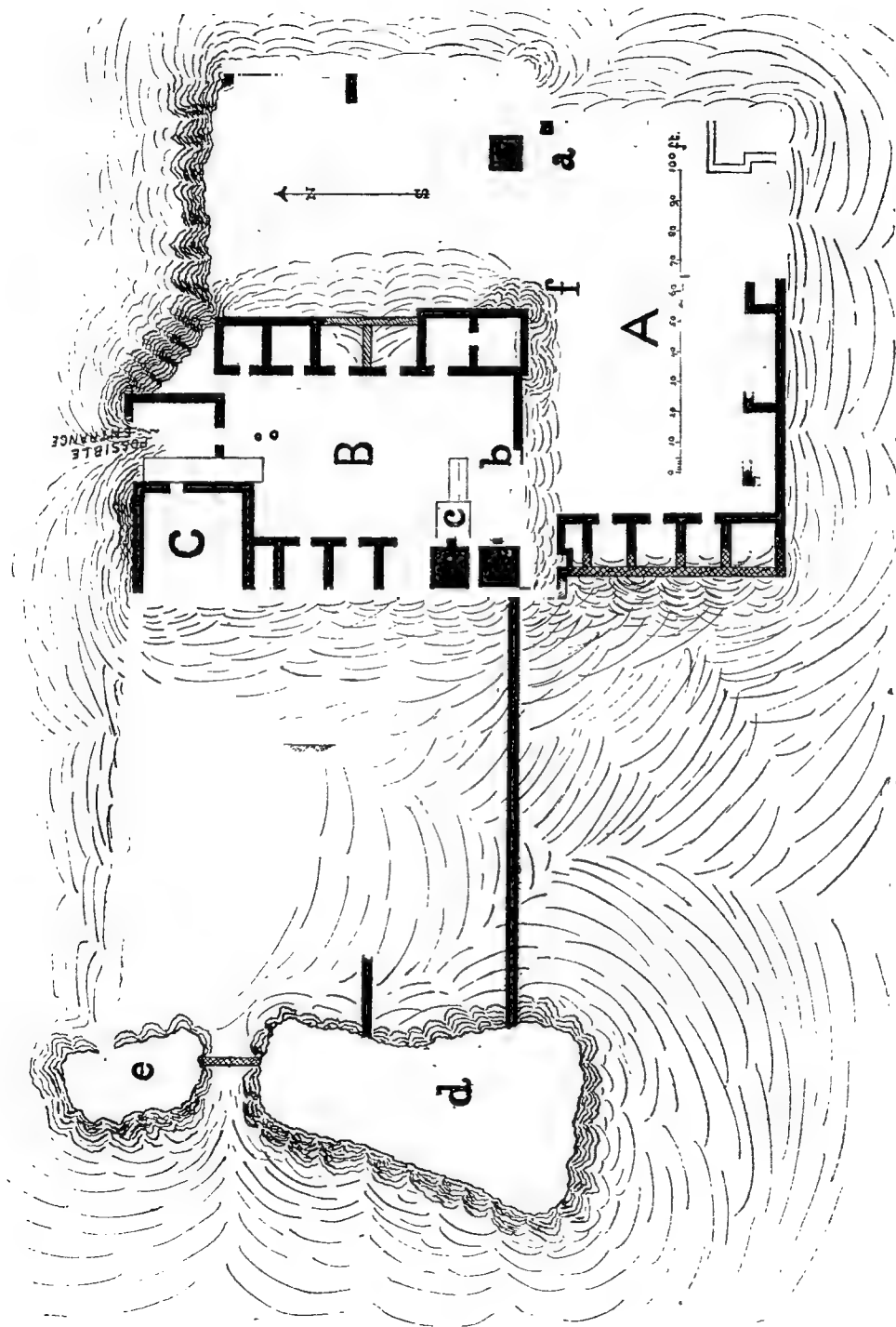


FIG. 13.—TEKÉ KAIF: PLAN.

but has adopted the alternative view in his last map—*Formae Orbis Antiqui*, 1894. From the examination of a Greek private collection at Aidin of coins of this neighbourhood, W. R. P. confirms Kiepert's observation as to the occurrence of coins of ALINDA at Demirji Deresi. The extreme strength of this site, which lies on a very steep hill, with terrace-walls and natural rock faces even within the fortifications, also corresponds with Arrian's description (*Anab.* i. 23): *χωρίον τῆς Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώτατον*. Droysen's conjecture<sup>1</sup> that Alinda at one time bore the name *Alexandreia ad Latnum* mentioned by Stephanos, avoids the necessity of supposing that a new Macedonian colony was founded in this neighbourhood. Queen Ada of Alinda expressed great devotion to Alexander, and may very well have given her town a complimentary title from his name. That the place was well Hellenized is indicated

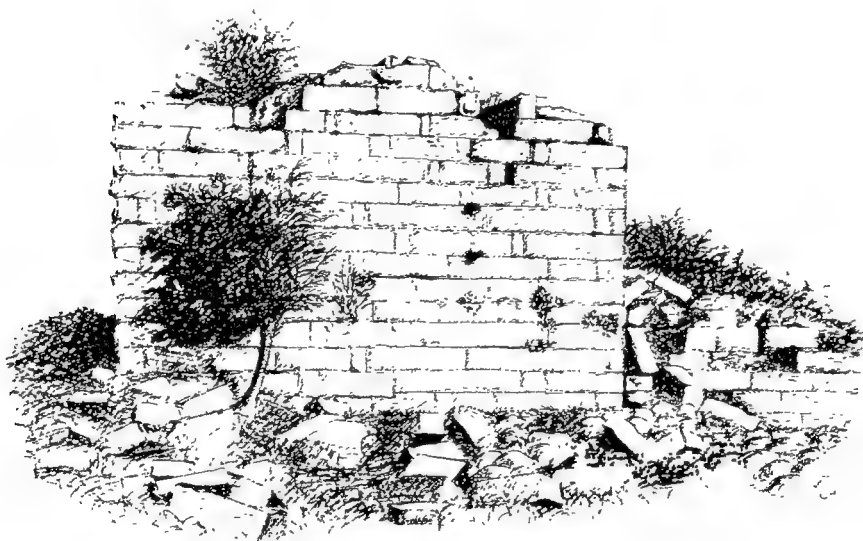


FIG. 14.—TEL EL KALL. NORTH VIEW OF THE TOWER C.

both by the existing remains, and by Stephanos' account of the Praxitelean Aphrodite there. Perrot-Chipiez v. fig. 224 gives after Trémaux, a ground-plan of part of the fortifications which present close resemblances with that of KINDBA (Cholmekji Kalé).

The great stoa published in fig. 15, 16, is the best preserved of the numerous public buildings. Like the much smaller and earlier stoa with proto-Ionic columns which we found at Alizetin,<sup>2</sup> its open side faces up the hill, and the deep basement on the downward side has window openings, and may have been used as a storeroom. The stoa was of two stories, and the corbels for the floor-beams can still be seen in the back wall, and above the large capitals of the colonnade.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitsch. d. D.M.G.* n. n. p. 500.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 200.

The almost total absence of marble fragments, on a site of such magnificence, is noteworthy, but is probably to be explained by the greater demand

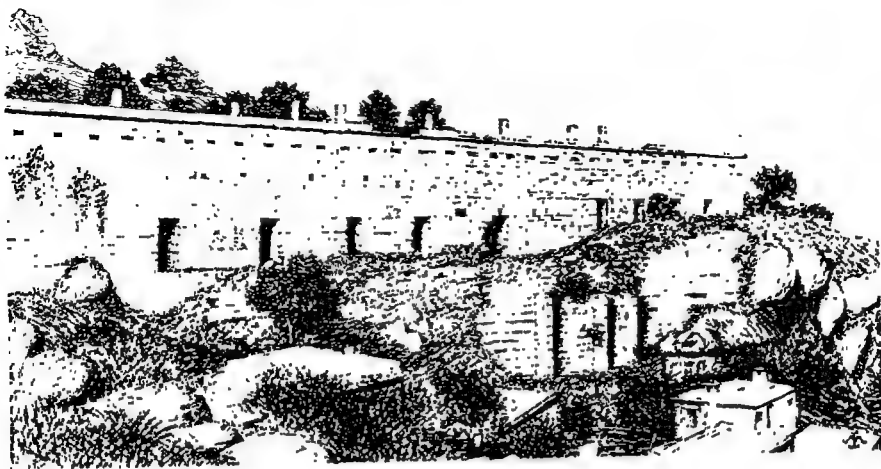


FIG. 15.—ALINDA: EXTERIOR OF LARGE STOA.

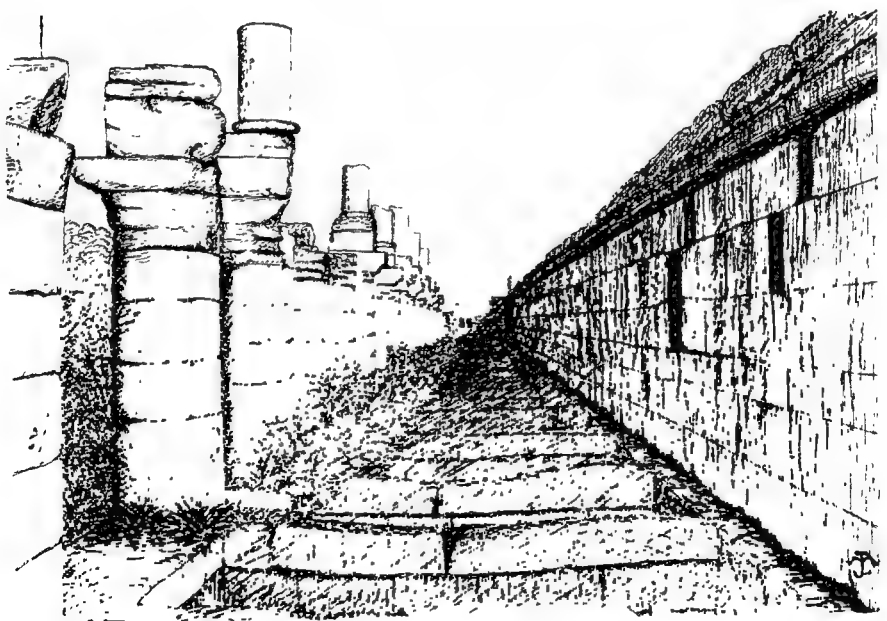


FIG. 16.—ALINDA: INTERIOR VIEW OF LARGE STOA.

for lime in this gneiss country. The only inscribed stones seen were a base of gneiss with the words



No. 39.

ΔΙΟCCΩΤΗΡΟΣ      Διὸς Σωτήρος

in late characters; and another base, also of gneiss, with a bipennis in low relief. An inscription is said to exist, plastered over, in the mosque, but as the *haja* and the key were away in the lowland summer quarters of the village, it was impossible to copy it.

KOSKINIA is now placed by Kiepert on the left bank of the main stream of the China Chai, and about nine miles (13–14 km.) above ALABANDA. He formerly placed it, as was mentioned above, at Demirjî Deresi, on the authority of Strabo's statement (v. 587) that the road from KOSKINIA to ALABANDA crosses the stream, which it follows, many times, whereas the modern road from Demirjî Deresi only needs to cross the Karpuzli Chai twice. On the other hand, this account does not suit the main valley of the China Chai much better. A considerable and tortuous stream, however, which is dry in summer and therefore *usually* passable, comes down from the Hazan Boghaz (not Hassan Boghaz as in Kiepert's great map) and joins the China Chai about an hour's ride *below* (north of) ALABANDA. KOSKINIA should therefore be looked for in or near Hazan Boghaz; for, like ORTHOSIA (which survives in Ortas<sup>1</sup>), it was a dependency of NYSA,<sup>2</sup> and probably lay not far from the main valley of the Maeander.

HYLLARIMA, which Kiepert (1894) places in the valley of the Harpasos, might well be claimed for the site at Kapraklar near Mesevli, in the basin of the eastern tributary which joins the China Chai at Inje Kemer.<sup>3</sup> This was Kiepert's site for ALINDA in his large map, but it is by no means *ἐν τοῖς ὄχυρῶτατον*. Stephanos describes Hyllarima as *ὑπὲρ Στρατονικείας* i.e. up country from Eski-Hissar viewed from the Gulf of Keramos. Stronger evidence is given by an inscription from Mesevli, part of which is published by Waddington,<sup>4</sup> part by MM. Doublet and Deschamps.<sup>5</sup> The nearest ancient site to Mesevli is that at Kapraklar; so the inscription probably came thence. In it Antoninus Pius is deified as Zeus Hyllos, who is evidently the chief god of the place. Now Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἑλλάουαλα identifies with the Herakleid Hyllos a deity who was worshipped in Karia at 'Hyllouala' (which he explains as Ἑλλου-αλα = ἑππος Ἑλλου). This Karian Hyllos may very well have been the chief deity of Hyllarima too.

#### KARIAN TOMBS.

The following notes represent materials collected during the journeys in 1893–4, the topographical and epigraphic results of which have already appeared in this volume. The delay in their publication is mainly due to the vain expectation that it might be possible this season to excavate some

<sup>1</sup> Kubitschek. *Sitzungsb. Acad. Wien.* J.H.S. xvi. 191.

(*phil.-hist. class.*) 16 Nov. 1893, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 650.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* ix. Jan. 1897 p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> No. 1583.

<sup>5</sup> *B.C.H.* xviii. 41, cf. 340.

of the principal chambered tumuli near Ghiuk Chalar: but the attitude of the Turkish authorities has made this project impracticable for the present; and the revival by Dr. Montelius<sup>1</sup> of the theory that the Tyrrhenian, if not the Mykenacan civilisation, originates in a migration seawards from Asia Minor makes it desirable to publish at the first opportunity such evidence as we have been able to collect as to the earliest civilisation of Karia.

The surface of the Karian coastland has for the most part been so closely denuded since classical times, that early sites such as Assarlik, Ghiuk Chalar, and Alizetin seem hardly worth excavating; and consequently such evidence as can be gleaned from the tombs is of the greater proportionate importance. But the tombs are also unfortunately in most cases either collapsed and in need of elaborate and systematic excavation, or else completely rifled or denuded like the town sites. The only excavation which has taken place hitherto was that at Termara by W. R. P. some years ago, the results of which are exhibited in the British Museum (numbered as A 570 ff.) and described in *J.H.S.* viii. p. 67 ff.; and the only other casual finds are those published in detail by Dr. Winter in *Mith. Ath.* xii. p. 225 ff.

#### I. CIST GRAVES. (*Ostothecae*, *Tombe a pozzo*).

The simplest form of tomb which has been discovered is a small cist of four stone slabs set on edge, and covered by a cap-stone which is usually flat or slightly concave on one side, and convex on the other, so that it closely resembles a flat loaf or bun. The whole construction suggests nothing so much as a miniature cromlech. The cist itself is seldom as much as a metre in length or breadth, and consequently cannot have contained an unburnt corpse, even in a contracted posture. And the one cist which we were able to open in 1893, (on the ridge south of Assarlik, the acropolis of Termara) contained like those opened in 1887<sup>2</sup> clear traces of burnt bones and ashes. Unfortunately it contained nothing else, except a rude clay spindlewhorl, much blackened, which indicated a woman's grave, and, by its form, a sub-Mykenacan date.

This cist grave stood in an irregular enclosure of unwrought stones, and from the general appearance of the whole area, had been intended to be covered by a small tumulus. This, however, had been almost wholly denuded, and the capstone was found as usual projecting above the ground level.

As was stated in *J.H.S.* viii. p. 73, these cist graves, or *ostothecae*, are frequently found in groups within a single enclosure, which is usually rectangular but has often been added to irregularly as more space was required. There was no clear evidence, in many of these enclosures, that anything of the nature of a tumulus was intended; but it should be observed that, from

<sup>1</sup> *British Association Report* (Liverpool) 1896, Sect H, p. 931. *Journ. Anthropological Insti-*

*tute* xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* viii. p. 67 ff.

whatever cause, the level of the ground was frequently higher within the enclosure than outside; and that where the ground was naturally uneven, an attempt had been made to level the enclosure, with a low supporting wall on

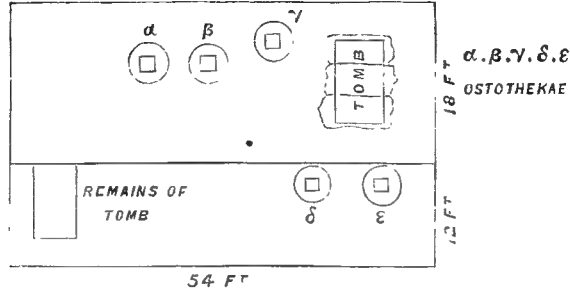


FIG. 17.—ASSARLIK: CIST GRAVES IN ENCLOSURE (= *J.H.S.* viii, fig. 16).

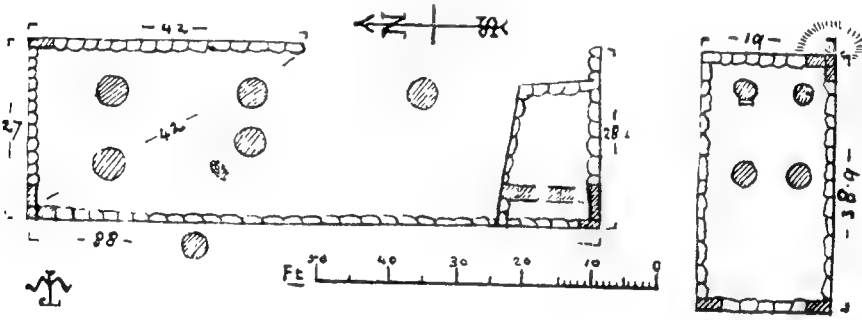


FIG. 18.—ASSARLIK: CIST GRAVES IN ENCLOSURE: S.W. NECROPOLIS.

the down-hill side. The annexed specimens (Figs. 17, 18) will sufficiently illustrate this type of tomb.

## II. FULL-LENGTH CIST GRAVES. (*Tombe a fossa*).

In the same enclosures with groups of *ostothekae*, full-length graves are occasionally found, lined like the small cists with slabs of stone, and covered by long slabs laid transversely. These slabs, like the capstones of the cists, are frequently convex on the upper side.

We found no clear traces of burning in these long graves, and their form itself suggests that the body was buried in them without being burned. The only indication to the contrary is afforded by the presence of a large *pithos* in one of them,<sup>1</sup> which may have contained ashes formerly, though it actually contained none. As these graves occur side by side with the

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* viii p. 71.

*ostothecae* in the same enclosure, we may probably assume that they belong to a period when burning and burial coexisted. This again corresponds with the indications of sub-Mykenaeon date derived from the finds recorded in *J.H.S.* viii. p. 69-74. With types I. and II. of the 'Lelegian' peninsula of Myndos, should be compared the 'Rock-cut Graves' of type VI. which appear to replace them in the gneiss country round Mount Latmos (p. 256 below).

### III. CHAMBERED TUMULI (*Tombe à chambre*).<sup>1</sup>

On the edge of the same necropolis of Assarlik, there are several examples of a third type of tomb, closely connected with the preceding. Here the full-length grave is enlarged to the dimensions of a small room. The consequent difficulty of roofing is met by the simple device of bracketing out the last few courses of the wall, and laying the roof slabs across the narrower opening which is thus left. But this involves an increase in the height of the chamber; and as at Assarlik the crystalline rock cannot be easily excavated, the chamber, though still slightly sunk, rises above the surface; and consequently has to be covered by piling stones upon it.<sup>2</sup> We may infer, from the fact that mere stones, and not earth, were used for this purpose, that the range of hills on which these tombs stand had then, as now, only a thin covering of soil, and was subject to severe denudation.

In constructing these rubble tumuli, the rectangular form of the original enclosure could not be maintained; but an attempt seems to have been made to preserve an oblong,—actually an oval—form: and a low *θριγκὸς* or bounding wall prevents the loose stones from spreading round the foot of the mound.

Subsequent interments, which could no longer be made in the mass of the tumulus, were provided for by leaving a doorway in the wall of the chamber: and traces occur of a dromos, always however found filled with the loose stones. The doorway is usually in one of the *long* sides of the chamber.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Winter, in the paper already cited, was the first to call attention to the analogy between the types of Karian and Italian tombs. The analogy is striking, and the sequence in both cases probably due, as Dr. Montelius suggests in the case of Etruria, to Mykenaeon influences.

<sup>2</sup> M. Perrot (*Hist. de l'Art*, V. fig. 215) in reproducing fig. 3 of W. R. P.'s Paper in *J.H.S.* viii. has drawn the chamber as though it were raised above the ground level.

<sup>3</sup> Numerous mounds of a different type are found all over the peninsula of Miletos, and are most numerous on the shore opposite the small island called 'Ada': but these are merely enormous heaps of loose stones—some round, some oblong,—of as much as 11 m. diameter and 5-6 m. height, without any trace of a sepulchral chamber. They usually stand on the

crests of low ridges, and the natives, who call them *ἀγυακᾶδες*, say that they are made for the shepherds to watch their flocks; for all the country is covered by a thick undergrowth of *schinos* and other shrubs. They are probably analogous to the very similar chamberless tumuli which abound in Attica between Hymettos and the sea, south of the Ilissos. These, so far as they have been tested, (by J. L. M. 1894, *v. J.H.S.* xv. p. 204-5, Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* xxvii. 237, *Chron. d'Or.*), appear to be not tumuli, but waste heaps gradually accumulated from the surrounding ploughlands; and probably the Milesian mounds simply bear testimony to the diligent husbandry of classical times, which has left traces in the farm buildings and oil-mills which we shall describe hereafter. At all events these stoneheaps may be safely ignored in the present connection.

Similar tumuli are common in this part of Karia, and are particularly frequent round Ghiuk Chalar.

Two very fine examples in a ravine near the old road west of Assarlik, described by Newton (*Halicarnassus*, etc., pp. 583 ff.) mark a further development. The outer plinth is furnished with a cornice of flat stones, and with a doorway at the outer end of the dromos. This avoids the necessity for the disturbance of the rubble every time the chamber has to be opened. The superior finish of the masonry agrees with these innovations, in indicating a somewhat later date for these specimens: they might very well belong to the seventh, or even to the sixth century B.C. It is worth noting that these

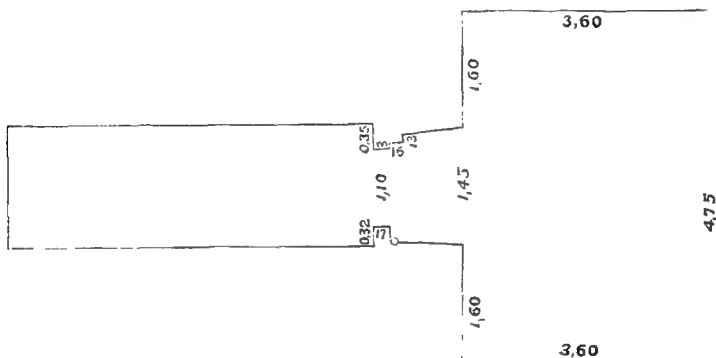


FIG. 19.—PLAN.

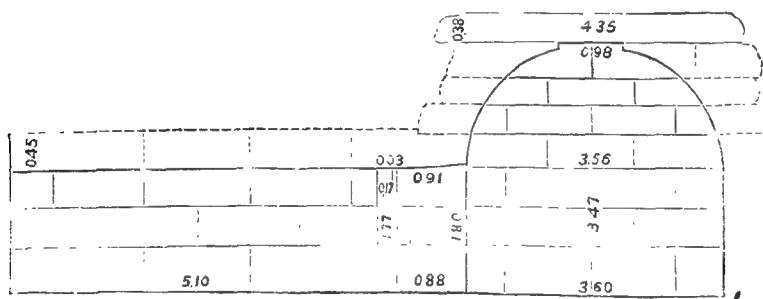


FIG. 20.—SECTION.

examples are escorted by numerous *ostothecae*, with capstones of enormous size.

The finest known example of this class of tombs is that on the northern or seaward summit of the three detached hills near Geresi village, of which the middle peak is crowned by the Karian fortress described above (p. 206-7) under the name of Borghaz, while the southern and least conspicuous has a compound tumulus of Type IV. below. This tomb has been already published (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 79-80 W. R. P.); but it will be convenient to repeat the plan there given (figs. 19-21) and to summarize the principal points of the description.

The tumulus is bounded by a low circular *θριγκὸς*, and the *δρόμος* also is lined with masonry. The chamber is rectangular, with the door in the middle of the southern long side: it is of finely wrought masonry, and has a roof constructed on the 'false arch' principle, but dressed to a semi-circular

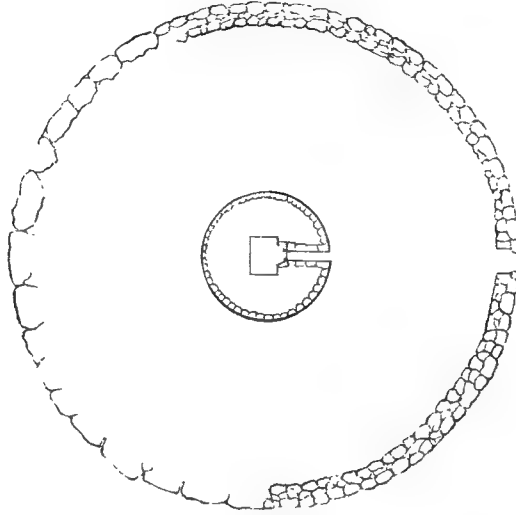


FIG. 21.—SCALE  $\frac{1}{1000}$ .

section internally. The long stone beams which form the uppermost course of the roof protrude slightly, after centuries of denudation, at the apex of the tumulus.



FIG. 22.—CHAMBERED TUMULUS; GHIUK CHALAR.

A somewhat different type, from the north necropolis of Ghiuk Chalar is represented in Figure 22. Here the *θριγκὸς* is of unusual height, and leans inward to resist the thrust of the loose rubble core. The door is high enough to be entered without difficulty, and the chamber is lofty in proportion. The original tumulus is still represented by the pile of rubble above the cornice, but is dwarfed by the increased height of the masonry below.

## IV. TUMULI WITH SECONDARY CHAMBERS.

We now come to a comparatively rare, and highly specialised class of tombs, which however we believe to be simply a variety of the chambered tumuli above described. The outer wall is circular, and upright, as in the former cases: but the chamber is, or rather was, dome-shaped, circular in plan, and constructed on the 'false-arch' principle, like a Mykenacan 'bee-hive' tomb. This chamber is set excentrically within the outer wall, so that at one point the wall is comparatively thin, but of solid masonry throughout. On the opposite side, several small chambers, opening radially out of the dome, are contained in the thickness of the wall, which is packed as usual with rubble between the inner and the outer masonry. The dome is entered by a doorway, which is not in the thinnest part of the wall, but at one side.

The great size of these monuments might suggest the doubt whether they were ever really roofed; but the evident inward lean of the wall of the circular chamber cannot be explained otherwise. The deficiency of débris round the monuments at the present time is no argument on the other side, for in any case there is not enough débris, at Geresi and at Gliuk Chalar, to reconstruct even the existing chambers and wall. And though the excentricity of the ground plan might seem to endanger the stability of the dome, the very fact that the 'false-arch' construction is employed, minimises, as in the Mykenacan 'beehives,' the thrust of the superincumbent rubble.

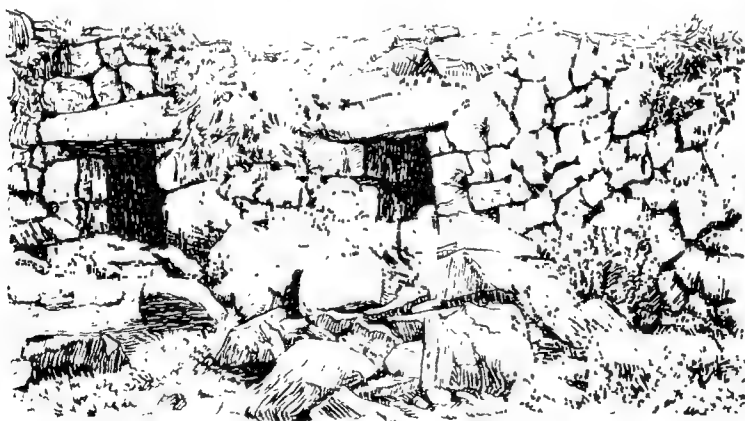


FIG. 23.—COMPOUND TUMULUS: GERESI.

The following examples are known to us:—

(a) On the southernmost of the three detached hills already mentioned between Geresi village and the sea. The tomb is built on the slope of the hill so that the back wall is buried and the thinner part of the wall which faced outwards has almost disappeared. There remain, however, two whole chambers in the side of the hill, and the back of a third, and the segment of the curved inner wall into which they open. Their doors are of very rude

masonry, almost unwrought, and the wall itself is very roughly built; but its inward slant is clearly visible. The small passage in the side of the right hand chamber is blocked, and does not seem to lead anywhere (fig. 23, 24).

(*b*) On the ridge marked W in the map, about half a mile east of the two towns which we identify with Telmessos (*J.H.S.* xiv. p. 373). This tomb

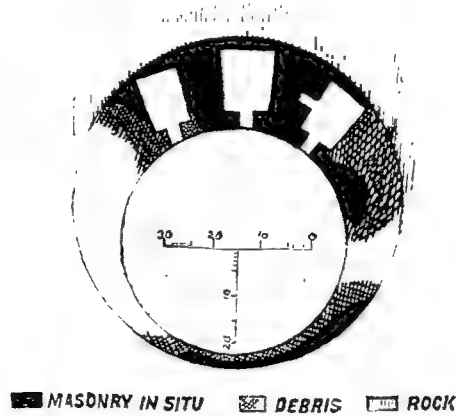


FIG. 24.—GIRESE: CHAMBERED TUMULUS.

contains three chambers, which are of well-built masonry of unwrought slabs of limestone, and are preserved to the height of four or five feet. The door is at one side, facing south. A noteworthy feature of this tomb is a long trench roofed with large slabs of stone, perhaps a long grave of type II. which lies across the circular chamber in the line of the door (fig. 25).

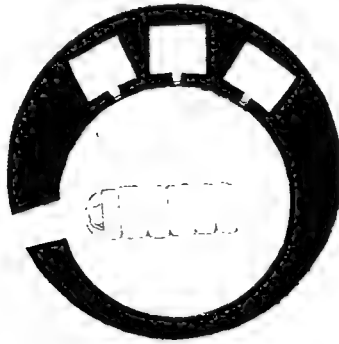


FIG. 25.—CIRCLE ON KARA DAGH (TELMESSOS).

(*c*) In the necropolis on the Kaplan Daglı (see map, Pl. X.) is a fine specimen which closely resembles (*b*). Unfortunately we are unable to give an adequate plan.

(*d*) In the necropolis of Gliuk Chalar, on the opposite slope of the ravine which bounds the town-site on the north, is a chambered tomb in a very



ruinous state, which is certainly of this type, though it is impossible to determine the number of chambers with accuracy.

(e) In the necropolis of Ghiuk Chalar, on the same hillside as (d) but higher and farther off, is the most elaborate and best preserved specimen which we have found. This tomb, which the Greeks of Budrum call *τὰ σπιτάκια*—"the little houses"—stands on nearly level ground, and has a vertical outer wall some three metres in height, with a distinct cornice, above which the wall is almost wholly destroyed. The few blocks which remain indicate that it still ran up vertically some way beyond the cornice. The door is on the west side, whereas the axis of the ground plan is north and south: it has a slight cornice above the lintel, and leads into the radial chamber B and thence into the central chamber by another passage which is slightly to the left of the outer doorway. The inner like the outer wall is of careful masonry of thick slabs of the local limestone; it has a very distinct inward curvature, such as would produce a dome seven or eight metres high.



FIG. 26.—COMPOUND TUMULUS: GHIUK CHALAR: FROM W.

Above the inner door-lintel is a small niche; there is another level with the lintels between the doors of C and D; and another lower down to the right of the door of A. The chamber D has also a niche in its back wall, nearly opposite to the entrance and a little to the right. The radial chambers are eight in number: those marked B, C, D, F, and G, have longitudinal gable roofs of 'false arch' construction, and I a roof of the same type modified to a pyramidal form. That marked A had a floor of two layers of slabs; one of these had been raised, revealing a similarly vaulted chamber below. In the thickest part of the wall (*i.e.* on the north side) a narrow stone staircase has been built in the thickness of the radial wall: on reaching the outer wall of the building it turns to the left and continues to rise in the solid masonry over the slanting roof of the chamber below, till it reaches the level of the cornice of the outer wall. Here it enters one of a series of chambers built over those of the ground floor, and apparently entered from one another in suite; though the walls are so much destroyed that this is not quite clear. The radial walls themselves were however quite clear between BC, CD, DE,

and EF: F alone of the ground floor chambers had partly collapsed. The accompanying figures (26-28) give a view from the W.; a ground plan; and

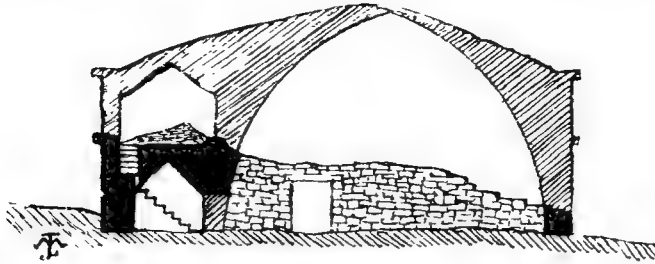


FIG. 28.—GHIUK CHALAR: SECTION FROM N. TO S.

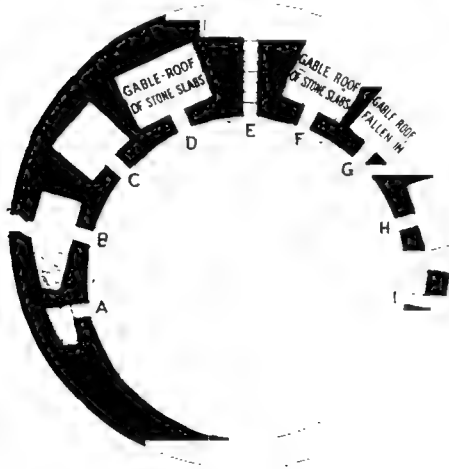


FIG. 27.—GHIUK CHALAR: PLAN.

a vertical section from north to south, with a conjectural reconstruction of this remarkable monument.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here interpretations differ. J. L. M. believes that the general correspondence of design between the compound tumuli (Type IV.) and the simple chambered tumuli (Type III.) warrants the supposition that the large circular chambers of the former were actually completed in stone like the Mykenacan 'beehives'; accordingly he proposes the restoration given in the figure; arguing (1) that such a construction, though unsound with a true vault, is architecturally stable even on this grand scale (8-10 m. diameter) with a 'false arch,' in which each course of masonry forms a horizontal compression-member, which vertical pressure cannot distort, even if unequally applied on different sides of the cupola; (2) that the pronounced inward lean of the walls of circular chamber admits of no other interpretation.

W. R. P. on the other hand does not believe that the circular chambers of Type IV. were ever roofed with stone, though they may have had a wooden roof. He argues (1) that the collapse of a stone roof would have filled the chambers, which are found in all cases nearly empty, with so large a mass of debris, that its removal would be inconceivable without human agency, and that the latter is most improbable on sites so remote, especially as the more accessible tumuli at Ghiuk Chalar show no signs of disturbance by stone-hunters; (2) that in any case the largest of these chambered circles, (next to be described) can never have been thus roofed, as its diameter is more than 50 metres; (3) that the inward slant of the walls may be explained as a ritual survival from the period when only single-chambered tumuli were in use.

(*f*) Not far west of (*c*), on the same hillside and among scattered trees which are a conspicuous landmark from the south, is a very much larger circular enclosure with radial chambers round a part of the circumference. It seems clearly to belong to the same class of monument, though in this case it is inconceivable that it can have been roofed over, as its diameter exceeds 50 metres. The walls which are throughout of comparatively small and wholly undressed stones, are nowhere preserved to a height of much more than a metre; the thickness of the ring wall, exclusive of the solid packing on either side of the row of chambers, averages 1.50—2.0 m. The amount of débris is as usual small, far too small in fact to complete even the walls which remain, to any height proportionate to their thickness, and the ground plan can be made out with some certainty.

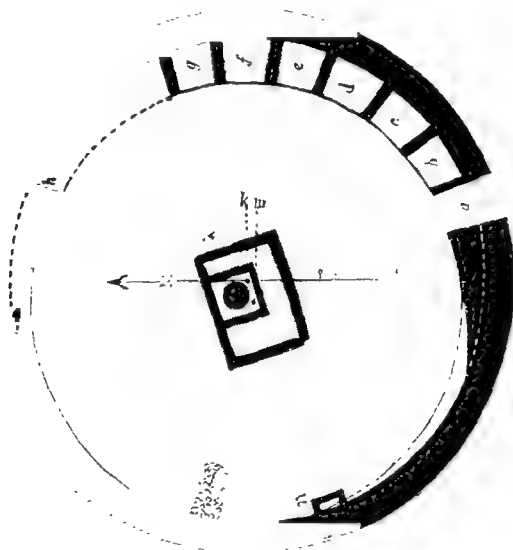


FIG. 29.—GHUİK CHALAR: LARGE CIRCLE PLAN.

An entrance is clearly marked at a point a few degrees east of south: its inner angles are not well defined, and it enters, like the doorway of (*c*) through the thickened part of the wall, and apparently at one extremity of the series of chambers: but it lies square with the walls of the central building, and there can be little doubt that it was the original doorway. The chambers indicated in the plan are all clearly recognisable: their radial walls are 4—5 m. in length. The solid packing where the inner and outer walls converge diminishes more suddenly than would be the case, if the inner wall were a true circle: not improbably the builder began by setting off the inner and the outer circles so as to touch, and laid his walls respectively outside the inner, and inside the outer circle. In any case however, the centre of the inner circle fell within the central building, and (if the

minimum diameter be taken) within the inner enclosure, as is shown by the dotted line and letter *m* in the plan: *k* is the centre of the outer circle.

The central building is of the same rough masonry: it consists of two enclosures, irregularly placed one within the other. The inner contains a large core of rubble, domeshaped and of roughly circular plan. Nothing has been found within the area or in the chambers, to indicate the purpose which this monument served: but it may probably be regarded either as a chambered necropolis, or as the *τέμενος* of some cult based upon the worship of the departed ancestors.

Two degenerate and probably later examples of chambered tumuli have been recently examined (1896, W. R. P.), which seem to indicate the influence of the sepulchral conventions which are represented by the 'built tombs' of Type V. and the 'rock-cut tombs' of Type VI.

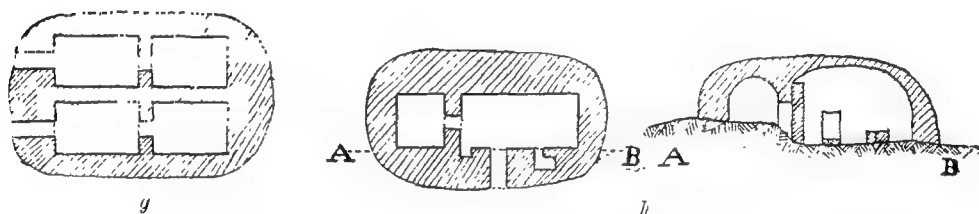


FIG. 30.—COMPOUND TUMULI: (g) GHINK CHALAR: (h) FARELIA.

(g) One of these stands in the northernmost part of the necropolis of Ghink Chalar, on a summit bearing  $321^{\circ}$  magnetic north from the great circle just described, and about half-a-mile from it. Near the tomb stands a rectangular two-chambered dwelling-house in the same style. The masonry, and the shape of the chambers, resemble those of the other circles, but the form of the tumulus is an irregular oval, or rectangle with rounded corners, the long axis of which lies nearly north and south. Across the top is a low wall which is not indicated in the plan (fig. 30, g). In the south end are the remains of two entrances side by side, very much damaged, but apparently communicating with two parallel series of two chambers each. The inner chamber in each case was inaccessible, and its dimensions are only approximately given in the plan. The general plan of this tomb may be compared with that on Orak Island, described below (p. 255. Type V.).

(h) The other stands on the promontory of Farelía, not far from 'Arslan's house,'<sup>1</sup> and is likewise of irregular oval form, with the long axis lying north and south. It contains two chambers, the larger of which (B) is oblong in form, and is entered by a low doorway in the east side. In the same wall are two niches, one low down, and of small dimensions, the other lofty and narrow: the latter may have served to receive the doorstone of A when rolled back from the entrance. The inner chamber (A) is smaller, and

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 263, and p. 208 above.

nearly square. It has collapsed, and the place of the entrance is entirely blocked by the debris. Both chambers had, and A retains, a low domeshaped roof, which resembles that of a common type of late rock-cut tomb.

The interior has recently been cleared and fairly well examined; and has yielded a bronze coin of Halikarnassos (cf. Mionnet, *Suppl.* vi. p. 494, Nos. 295-7) and lamps and pottery of the first or second century B.C.; but nothing to suggest an earlier date. It is difficult, however, to believe,—at all events until the tomb has been properly cleared,—that the objects in question represent the original furniture of the tomb, and not a subsequent interment. The tomb itself however has all the appearance of a later and degraded imitation of a traditional but imperfectly comprehended model.

Most of these chambered tumuli, and of the rock-cut graves and sarcophagi described below (Type VI.) occupy prominent positions on peaks and ridges, but chiefly on the summits of passes. Summit-burial has been practised in many countries and ages, and it would lead us too far afield to discuss its meaning here. But it should be noted that among the modern natives of this part of Karia the practice is still prevalent. Two tombs of Mussulman saints—‘built tombs’ with a dome or barrel roof—called locally Mezer, Téké or Dédé, are conspicuous objects on peaks near Myndos; and in Mt. Latmos the summits of the two high passes above Euren and Sakar-Kaya are occupied by old Turkish cemeteries. Near Chaydar in Mt. Latmos there is an isolated ‘Téké’ which is even surrounded by a rude circle of stones.

The area of distribution of these chambered tumuli seems to be limited and well defined. The three largest series are in the neighbourhood of Halikarnassos; namely those round Assarlik, round Ghiuk Chalar, and on the Kaplan Daglı. Isolated examples occur at Borghaz,<sup>1</sup> at Gerési<sup>2</sup>; several on the ridge west of the peak Q; on the Kara Daglı near the site of Telmessos<sup>3</sup>; on the peninsula of Farélia; and near Durvandā. There are a few more in the country between Budrum and the Kar Ova.<sup>4</sup> East of Theangela, the only tumuli known to us are a group near Cholmekji Kalè (KINDYA) which are of much more advanced masonry, and too substantial to be surveyed without previous excavation; and some small examples, without *θριγκὸς* and mostly unopened, near Pirnari Yailā above Keramos. None were to be found on the hills round Mughla, E-ki Hissar, (STRATONIKELA), or Mylasa; but further north, above Miletos, on the point marked ‘220 m.’ on Kiepert’s map, W. R. P. found what seemed to be the lowest course of the bounding wall of a circular tumulus of the same type, 9 m. in diameter, and associated with much broken pottery.

<sup>1</sup> The chambered tumulus III. *ibid.* p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> The compound tumulus IV. *ibid.* p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> The compound tumulus IV. *ibid.* p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> We have missed, or failed to identify, the site at ‘Gusechalji,’ with megalithic circular en-

losures, described by Dr. Winter as 3 hrs. (*Stunde*) S.E. of Budrum and 2 km. from the Gulf of Kos (*Month. Ath.* xii. 225 = *Perrot-Chippiez* v. fig. 219.) It ought to be in the neighbourhood of Alizetin.

## V. BUILT TOMBS, WITH CHAMBERS LIKE THOSE OF THE TUMULI.

On the island Orak (Adm. Ch. 1604) between Budrum and Keramos we found a large and well preserved, but apparently uncompleted tomb, of which plan and section are given in Fig. 31.

The tomb stands a short distance from the sea, on the west side of the anchorage facing the mainland. The ground falls decidedly northeastward, and the tomb, which stands foursquare to the cardinal points of the compass, is supported in this quarter on a high plinth of roughly squared masonry.

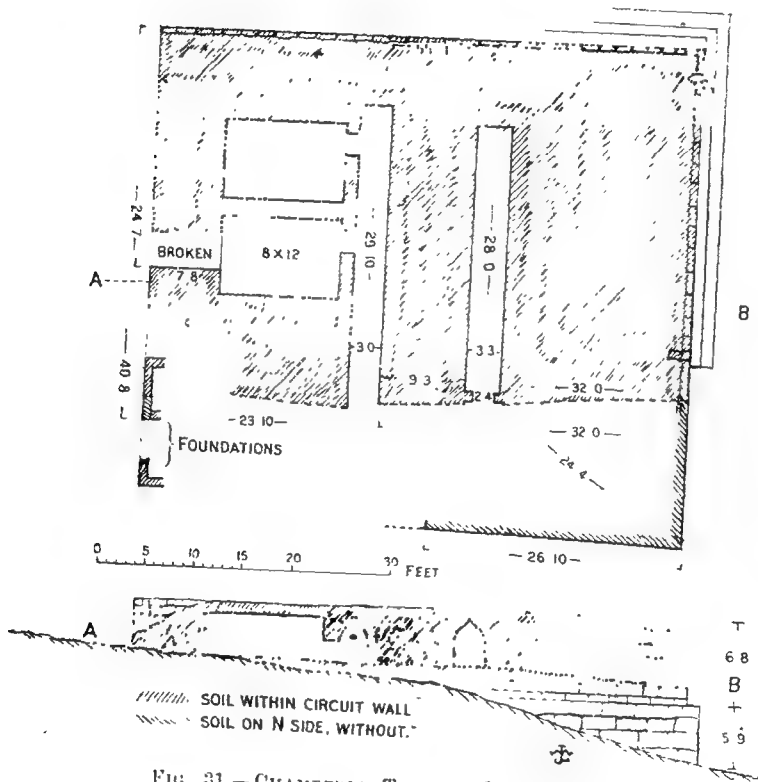


FIG. 31.—CHAMBERED TOMB ON ORAK ISLAND.

with the drafts down the angles of the building, which are characteristic, in these parts, of Hellenic work. The tomb itself is of rubble like the more elaborate chambered tumuli, and is encased in solid masonry like that of the plinth, on the north and east sides. A small opening, leading nowhere, is marked near the north end of the east wall. The masonry of the west side has been almost wholly destroyed, but the return at the northwest corner is clear. A similar external angle, and return of the wall can be detected in the east wall (a little below the letter B in the plan), and close beyond this point the plinth stops abruptly. The obvious inference from this is that the tomb,

as originally planned, was oblong in form, and that it was subsequently extended southwards; the return of the plinth being destroyed to get a good junction with the lower part of the old wall. The later part of the east wall is of different and inferior masonry. The south wall, of which only the lower courses remain, bonds with it at the angle, but is not laid out square with the rest of the building; nor does it agree with the fragmentary walls of the southwest angle. The latter are square with the original west wall, and quite clear of the site of the original southwest angle, which has entirely disappeared: they are of rough masonry with large cornerstones.

So far all is clear; but there is nothing to explain the fact that the two internal passages seem to pass the line of the original south wall without break, and that one of them has a doorway with stone jambs just *beyond* it. The masonry of the passages is covered, however, for the most part with thick stucco, so that we may have missed the signs of junction. The whole of the southern part, left blank in the drawing, is razed to the ground level of the passages, if indeed it has ever been filled with rubble at all. No signs were visible in the passage of chambers in the eastern half of the monument corresponding with those in the western, nor did the rubble sound hollow when struck from above. The opening into the southwestern chamber has been forcibly made through the rubble, endangering the false-arch roof at this end. At the time of our visit the proper door was blocked, and the chamber, like the other passages, was used as a goat stable, to our no small discomfort.

The present proportions and the substantial plinth of the monument strongly suggest that it must have been originally of much greater height: in that case it must have contained two, if not more, storeys of passages and chambers; and obscure traces of walls on its present surface seem to confirm this view. It is also not improbable that it may have been finished above, in native fashion, with a low pyramid of rubble: and if the passages are part of the original design (which there is no reason to doubt) they must have opened upon some sort of façade on the south side.

The only suggestion which we have to make as to the reconstruction of the south wall, is that its object may have been to provide the older two-storied building with a more pretentious architectural façade like the portico of Philo at Eleusis, the rough foundations of which would be completely concealed when it was finished.

## VI. ROCK-CUT GRAVES, developing into SARCOPHAGI.

This type, so far as we know, is peculiar to the gneiss area of Mt. Latmos and its neighbourhood, and its more elaborate form has probably been suggested by the idea of utilising as monuments the conspicuous natural boulders which characterise this formation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* ix. (January 1897), pp. 45-49, and the figures there.

The simplest tombs of this region are full length graves analogous to those of the 'Lelegian' neighbourhood (Type II.), covered by one or more large blocks of stone. None have as yet been opened under supervision, though many are undisturbed, *e.g.* at Baghajik and Teké Kalé; so that their date remains doubtful. Their general form, however, and their position at the head of the series, suggest that they correspond in age and meaning with the 'Lelegian' *tombe a fossa* which they resemble.

These simple graves are common at Alinda, and occur on other Latmian sites such as HERAKLEIA, Baghajik, Teké Kalé, Chikür.

The large majority of the rock-cut graves have only a single cap-stone, which, together with the grave itself, passes through a series of modifications which can be classified, but unfortunately not dated except in the latest instances.

(1) The cap-stone is a simple slab, rectangular and often nearly flat: *e.g.* an example from HERAKLEIA on the Latmic Gulf.

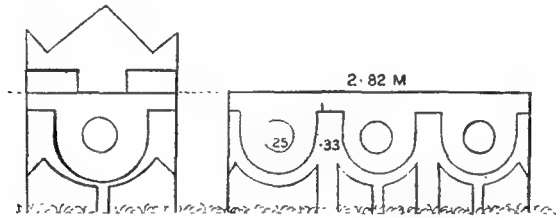


FIG. 32.—SARCOPHAGUS: KHALKETOR.

(2) The cap-stone is gable-shaped, and variously ornamented: *e.g.* one from the Monteshe valley, near Chikür and the fortified oil press which will be described hereafter.

(3) The cap-stone is still gable-shaped, but the block of gneiss, in which the long, narrow, and shallow grave is cut, is itself fashioned into the shape of a tall box or sarcophagus, intended to be seen above ground, and in some cases to be approached on one of the longer sides by two or more steps, *e.g.* fig. 33, from ALINDA (Demirji Deresi). Many examples of this type are known. Both at ALINDA and at ALABANDA are numerous plain sarcophagi; many of those in the latter necropolis bear the names of slaves inscribed in late characters<sup>1</sup>; but it is difficult to believe that these slaves were the original occupants. Similar tombs are found in the valley of the China Chai (MARSYAS) south of Inje Kemer, standing, as usual, upon isolated ridges, and far from any ancient site. One specimen, without its cover, stands in the necropolis of Karyanda, in the hollow between the W. side of Ghiöl Bay and the rock-cut chamber-tombs at Rum-buki.

Later and more elaborate sarcophagi clearly lead to the Hellenistic and

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Lebas-Waddington, Nos. 552<sup>1</sup> ff.: W. R. P. has copied many besides those published there.



Graeco-Roman sarcophagus with gable-cover. *E.g.* near Merikler village in Mt. Latmos, lower down the Menteshe valley than the Chikûr tomb (v. above) is one with three lozenges cut on the sides. The more elaborate specimen from Khalketor (fig. 32) appears to be of late date: the ornamentation is not peculiar to Karia.

A collateral development of these rock-cut graves presents other points of analogy with the 'Lelegian' series: substitution of a number of slabs for a single cap-stone recalls the advance, suggested above, from the cist-graves of Type I. to full-length graves of Type II; and further, the piles of built

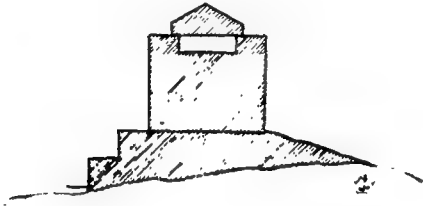


FIG. 33.—ROCK-CUT SARCOPHAGUS: ALINDA.

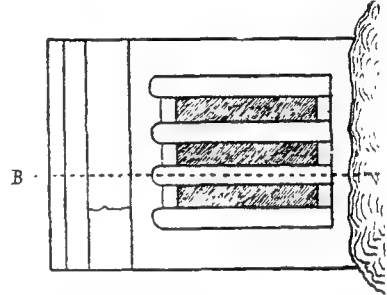


FIG. 36-37.—BUILT TOMB: TEKÉ KALÉ:  
ROOFPLAN, AND SECTION.

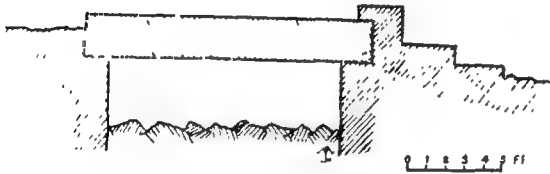


FIG. 34.—TOMB FROM ALINDA: LONGITUDINAL SECTION.

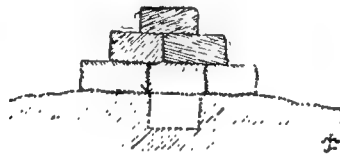


FIG. 35.—TEKÉ KALÉ: PYRAMIDAL TOMB.

stones which in some cases replace a single cover or cap-stone may be regarded as the Latmian gneiss-built equivalents of the earliest 'Lelegian' tumuli (Type III.). These pyramidal structures are especially characteristic of the neighbourhood of Kisir Keui on the north side of Mt. Latmos. The following examples are typical:—

(4) In the necropolis of ALINDA is a large grave, or small chamber, without door, cut in the rock, and roofed by two massive blocks of stone. Two low steps give access to the tomb at the end where the ground slopes away: fig. 34

(5) At Teké Kalé a similar grave is covered with a low pyramid of large squared blocks forming steps to the top: fig. 35.

(6) On the ridge west of Teké Kalé in Mt. Latmos is a chambered tomb, partly built, partly cut in the rock, and entered by a door in the south side.

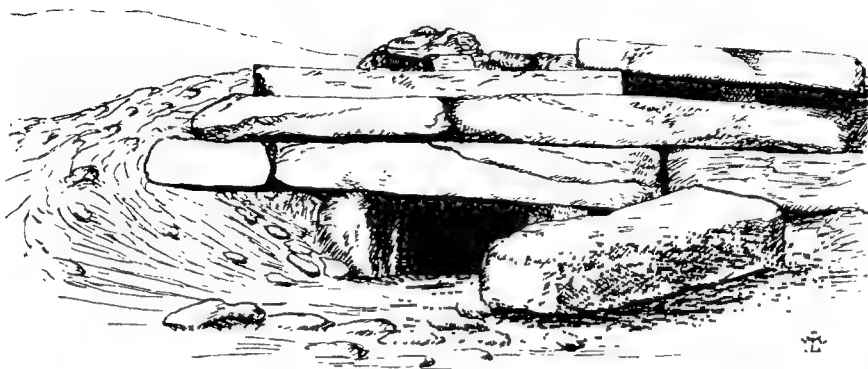


FIG. 38.—BUILT TOMB: TEKÉ KALÉ. *From a photograph by W. R. P.*

The roof of the chamber is formed by long stones three of which have been removed. Above the door, three steps lead up to the summit of the monument, but these steps are not continued along the sides, and at the back the top of the tomb is level with the rock. This tomb is probably to be regarded

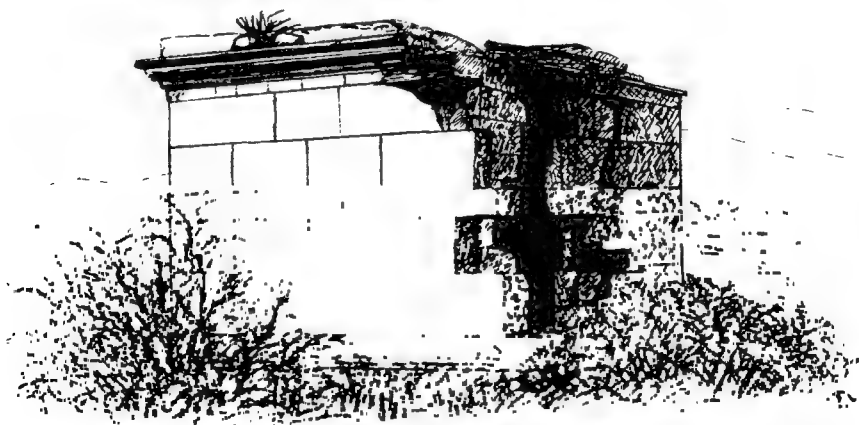


FIG. 39.—BUILT TOMB: ALINDA. *From a photograph by W. R. P.*

as an adaptation of the Latmian type to the custom of burial in the chambered rock tombs of Type VII. See sketch (fig. 38) and plans (fig. 36-37); and compare a tomb at Iasos (Perrot-Chipiez v. fig. 213.)

One exceptional tomb at ALINDA is probably to be regarded as an exaggerated sarcophagus, inasmuch as it has no door, and was intended to be entered by an opening in the roof. It is in the shape of a small *heröon*, but without façade or door, built of fine squared masonry, with an effective cornice moulding. The entrance on the right side has been made by tomb-robbers: fig. 39.

#### VII. ROCK-CUT CHAMBER-TOMBS.

A wholly distinct type of burial-usage is represented throughout this part of Karia by the frequent chamber-tombs cut in the rock. Their forms do not present any noteworthy variations from the types which are recognised in other parts of Asia Minor, and notably in Paphlagonia and Lykia. In Karia there is nothing to show that rock-cut tombs go back to any remote period, and the majority are later than the fifth century.



FIG. 40.—ROCK TOMB: YENİJE.

The simplest, and apparently earliest type, consists of a single chamber, with a boldly cut façade of proto-Ionic or nondescript later Ionic style.

(a) Our best example is a tomb near the nameless city between Ula and Yenijé, discovered by W. R. P. The inscription NO under the *cymu*, in letters of the fourth century, probably dates the whole tomb sufficiently well. A photograph and a full description of this tomb were sent some years ago to M. Perrot: they are however not included in his history of Karian art, and he writes that he does not know where they are now.

(β) The tomb figured at the end of Hirschfeld's *Felsengräber*, and recently reviewed by the Austrian expedition, is in the same neighbourhood. But it is not so fine as the tomb near Ula.

(γ) Another tomb near Yenijé (fig. 40) has a shallow rectangular façade, with four chambers opening directly on to it. In the centre of the façade above them is a round Karian shield in low relief, like that on the "nt" of the temple at Baghajik (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 212, fig. 10). The break in the tympanum has been occasioned by the destruction of a large cist or small chamber, the axis of which lies at right angles to that of the four chambers below: it appears to have been entirely covered, and to have had no door; but in this position it can hardly have been intended for a rock-cut grave such as those which have been described (Type VI.)

(δ) Two similar tombs occur together in the eastern sea-cliff of Sandama peninsula. The upper one, which is reproduced, from a photograph, in fig. 41,

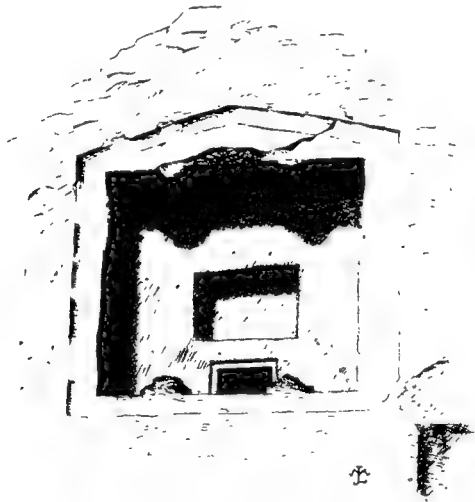


FIG. 41.—ROCK-CUT TOMB WITH PAINTED FAÇADE: SANDAMA.

had a portico 8' 6" high, 8' 8" wide, and 2' 8" deep. The doorway was very low: 2' 3" high and 2' 2" wide. The architrave had been supported by two debased Doric columns, of which only the capitals and bases remain; it is not improbable that a good deal of the architectural detail had been originally executed in plaster, and that the stone projections were only the core; the proportions, too, suggest Ionic rather than Doric columns.

The chamber within was of the usual form, with a gable roof from front to back, and two graves sunk in the floor on either side of a central passage of the same width as the entrance. The dimensions were, length 9' 0", breadth 7' 2", height 4' 3" in the gable, 3' 2" at the side wall; the graves were of length 6' 8", breadth 2' 1", depth 2' 0".

The back wall of the façade bore at the top under shelter of the portico the remains of two layers of polychrome fresco painting. The outer coat was

quite defaced by damp and mould, but on flaking this away we seemed to make out that the inner layer represented a farewell scene like those of the Attic grave-reliefs, outlined in brown, and executed in several colours. It was impossible in so inaccessible a position to make tracings or drawings, but so far as memory serves, the treatment resembled that of the fresco-painted stelae discovered at Amathus in Cyprus in 1894.<sup>1</sup> The monument therefore probably dates from not earlier than the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C.

(ε) The lower tomb at Sándama had a similar façade but no columns; the architrave was ornamented with rows of mutules, and the *antae* had a simple and debased moulded cornice thus (fig. 42):—

(ζ) A simple tomb of the same type occurs on a farm-site on the north slope of the south range (map, Pl. XI.), about a mile west of Assarlik. Here, as we shall have occasion to note again below, the tomb stands in close relation to the dwelling-house and farm, which was also in part rock-cut in the same bed of soft volcanic tuff.



FIG. 42.

(η) A tomb on the north face of the citadel of Assarlik differs from the preceding only in having a second chamber behind the first.

The later and more elaborate tombs with many secondary chambers are found more frequently. Two examples near Farelia village are reproduced in fig. 43: that on the left shows that the secondary chambers were

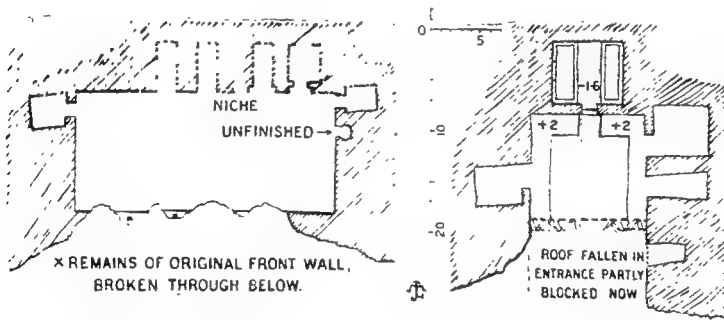


FIG. 43.—ROCK-CUT TOMBS: S. OF FARELIA VILLAGE.

added as they were required. Compare the group of tombs on Farelia promontory (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 209, fig. 9 = fig. 44), which, like (ζ) above, is cut close to the foundations of a farm. In the inner part of the right-hand ('stable') tomb, a *bucranium* is carved high on the *anta* between two of the cells.

At Ahmajik is a subterranean chamber-tomb (fig. 45) which consists of a small rectangular chamber, 3.45 m. long, 1.40 m. broad, and 2.65 m. high internally, with a doorway in the middle of one of the long sides. It is lined with fine squared masonry, 0.60 m. to 0.45 in thickness; and the roof, which is composed of four slabs 0.45 m. thick, is supported by three transverse

<sup>1</sup> British Museum: Turner Bequest—unpublished—at present in the First Vase Room.

beams of stone 0.40 m. wide and 0.50 m. deep. At each end of the tomb is a transverse bench of stone, 0.70 m. wide, 0.25 m. thick, and 0.80 m. from the ground level.

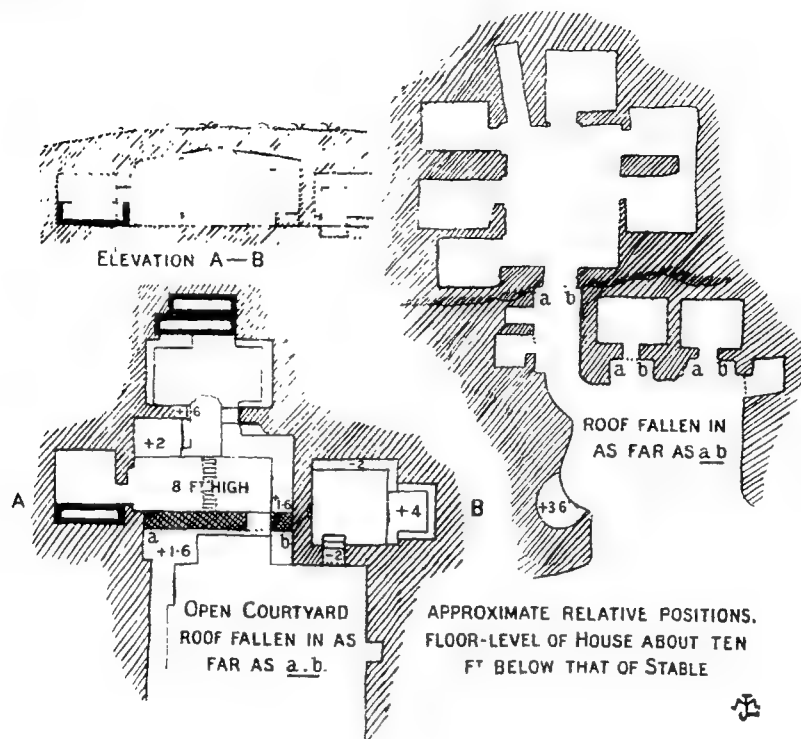


FIG. 44 (= FIG. 9).—ROCK-CUT TOMBS, USED AS HOUSE AND STABLE: FARELIA.

The doorway in the *side* is a feature which connects this tomb with the chambered tumuli, but the benches suggest analogies with the rock-cut tombs.

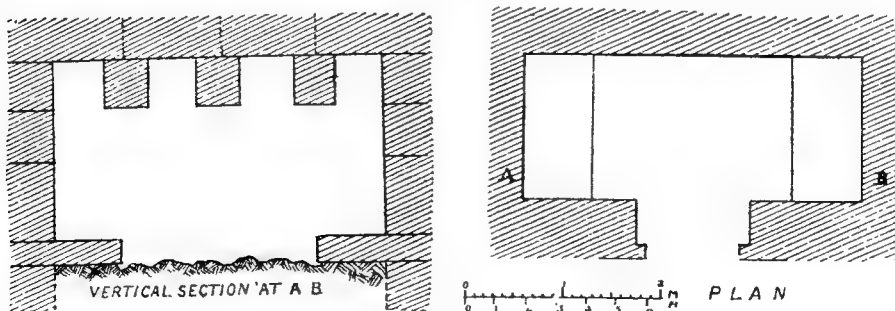


FIG. 45.—ROCK-CUT TOMB, LINED WITH MASONRY: ALMAJIK: PLAN AND SECTION.

There is no trace of any encircling wall, or former accumulation of rubble. The monument may have served as a heroon or chapel, as well as a burial-place.

At KYON, in the necropolis, is a somewhat similar tomb with two chambers, and rests on which to place the bodies. This seems also to be imitated from a wooden structure: of which similar reminiscences occur in subterranean chamber-tombs in Cyprus at Ag. Jannis tis Mallíntas, at Tamassos, and in Old Larnaka.<sup>1</sup>

#### ADDENDUM.

The following conclusions seem to be warranted, in the present state of the evidence, as to the early civilisation of this part of the Karian coast; though of course the first opportunity of excavation may bring unexpected evidence and put the whole problem in a very different light.

#### I. *Pre-Mykenaeon Karia.*

Diligent search throughout the peninsula of Myndos produced only two fragments of pottery which can be described as pre-Mykenaeon in character. They were both found at a small fort of quite uncertain date on the hill *A* above Kadi Kalé, and are of the local mud of the Akcherenda river. One formed part of the rim of a large handmade bowl, with holes pierced in the edge to hold a suspending cord: the other is a massive handle of a vessel like the large globular bottles of the earliest 'redware' of the Cypriote Bronze Age, and was attached to the body of the vessel in the same peculiar manner, being thrust through a hole in the side of the vessel, and made smooth with wet clay at the junction outside. With the exception of these fragments, and of the Assarlik tomb group which is discussed below, all the pottery on the sites which we have examined is of the same general character, and nothing can be dated earlier than the sixth or perhaps the seventh century.

The cist-graves of Assarlik, however, bear a strong resemblance to those of the Cycladic civilisation in Amorgos, Syra, and elsewhere; the only difference being in the massive capstones of the Karian cists, which may well be a local modification due largely to the difference of the materials. For the massive capstones, like the rock-cut sarcophagi described above (pp. 256 ff.), are so far as we know confined to an area of metamorphic rocks. If this comparison is valid, there would be reason to infer a community at all events of funeral custom—and this means much—between the representatives of the earliest civilisation in the Cyclades, and the early inhabitants of this part of Karia.

#### II. *Karia under Mykenaeon Influence.*

If we remember that all the islands within sight of the Karian coast, from Samos to Rhodes, have, we believe without exception, furnished traces, in many cases abundant, of Mykenaeon occupation, it is certainly remarkable

<sup>1</sup> Myres and Olmsted-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* (Oxford, 1897), pp. 2, 6. Olmsted-Richter, *Journ. R. Inst. Brit. Architects*, Third Ser. Vol. iii. p. 109-118.

that no evidence has been discovered hitherto of any Mykenaeen settlement on this part of the mainland. And it must be presumed that there existed some definite opposition, probably racial, to the entrance of so contagious a civilisation. Only in the chambered tumuli of Assarlik<sup>1</sup> do we find any indication of Mykenaeen influence, and here the pottery, the fibulae, and the goldwork alike point not to the best period of Mykenaeen civilisation, but to the sub-Mykenaeen and quasi-geometrical decadence which is illustrated by finds such as those from Paphos,<sup>2</sup> Lapathos, and other early Graeco-Phoenician sites in Cyprus; from Crete; and from the Aegean Salamis. The occurrence of isolated examples of genuine Mykenaeen fabric at *Mylosa*<sup>3</sup> or at the Lykian *Telmessos*<sup>4</sup> proves very little in the absence of evidence as to the local fabrics found with them: the necropolis of *Tchangli* near the Panionion is in the same category as that of Assarlik<sup>5</sup>; and that of *Ilirius* (STRATONIKEIA)<sup>6</sup> is even more definitely post-Mykenaeen and geometrical.

The evidence of the pottery is confirmed by the obvious comparison of the chambered tumuli of Karia with the 'Beehive' tombs of the Mykenaeen world. For the tumuli with convergent chamber walls, and radial secondary chambers might well be compared in construction and in dimensions, with the Mykenaeen 'Treasuries' of Atreus and Minyas. But in Karia these chambers are always above ground, even the hill-side example at Geresi constituting no real exception; and, as has been described, they are usually found associated with, and seem to develop out of, simple chambered tumuli. But the Assarlik tomb groups show that this simpler form is itself of sub-Mykenaeen date, and we have seen that hitherto at all events, purely Mykenaeen tombs are unknown in Karia. The probability is, therefore, that any Mykenaeen analogies which are recognised, must be regarded as adaptations of a late stage of Mykenaeen civilisation to the needs of the inferior, but now at last receptive, civilisation of the mainland.<sup>7</sup>

The theory, therefore, formerly proposed by Drs. Koehler and Dümmler, that Mykenaeen civilisation originates in Karia, and represents the Karian thalassocracy of Hellenic tradition, would seem to interpret such a series as that at Assarlik in exactly the wrong direction. Karia was, in fact, so far from spreading the Mykenaeen civilisation among the islands, in Crete, or in Greece, that it only felt its influence towards the close of the period, and, like Cyprus, retained and adapted it when it was already becoming extinct in the Aegean. Thus Dr. Winter may well be right in attributing the necropolis of Tchangli to the first Greek colonists of Ionia.

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* viii. 67 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kuklia: from Cyprus Expl. Fund excavations: *J.H.S.* ix. p. 11. *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, p. 174, cf. specimens in Brit. Mus. C 112. Ashm. Mus. *Cyp.* 501-2.

<sup>3</sup> Smyrna Museum: publ. by Dr. Winter, *Mith. Ath.* xii. p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. A 288-290, cf. Winter, *l.c.* p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> Winter, *l.c.* p. 226-7. Perrot-Chipiez v. fig. 226, 227, 229, 230.

<sup>6</sup> Winter, *l.c.* p. 226. Perrot-Chipiez v. fig. 231-3. Ohnesch-Richter, *Kypros*, Pl. cxv.

<sup>7</sup> We shall see below p. 270, how an analogous adaptation of Hellenic canons converted the same type of chambered tumulus into the Mausoleum.



Further, a very similar series may be traced elsewhere; for the closely analogous<sup>1</sup> chambered tumuli of the Hermos valley and the neighbourhood of Old Smyrna, which are similarly grouped in great necropoleis, and develop into even greater magnificence, are likewise associated with a class of pottery—unfortunately now rare and fragmentary,—which can only be explained as a late imitation of, and survival from, decadent Mykenaeen forms; while the chambered tumuli themselves admit, though less clearly, of a similar affiliation. The unique find of Lydian jewellery<sup>2</sup> also shows Mykenaeen survivals, though it belongs to a period when Orientalising motives are beginning to be appreciated.

It is also worth while to emphasize, what has been already hinted in our nomenclature of the types of tombs, that the series of burial-forms in Karia presents close analogies with that of Central Italy. The cist graves seem to represent *tomba a pozzo*,<sup>3</sup> the full-length graves *tomba a fossa*, and the simple chambered tumuli the *tomba a camera* which in Italy also are probably rightly attributed by Dr. Montelius to the far-reaching influence of Mykenaeen civilisation; a conclusion which is amply borne out by the characteristic features of their contents.

Like the Lydian tumuli, which are apparently confined to the coast round Old Smyrna, and to the lower half of the valley of the Hermos, the Karian tumuli are not found far inland. They are wholly confined within a line drawn from Miletos to Keramos: they become more frequent, characteristic and magnificent as they approach the peninsula of Myndos; and further, so far as we know, it is only at Assarlik that they are associated with the cist graves, with the larger types of which they seem on one side to be closely related. All this looks as if these tumuli had originated in the peninsula, and had spread, perhaps with their builders, from this centre eastwards. And we have seen already that the evidence suggests that the domed chamber was derived, along with the sub-Mykenaeen art of Assarlik, from the Mykenaeen art of the Aegean; while the cist graves find their closest parallel in the pre-Mykenaeen cists of the Cyclades.

### III. *The Karian Thalassocracy.*

One of the strongest arguments against the 'Karian Theory' has always been that whereas there is no distinct Hellenic tradition of a great expansive movement originating in Karia, there are abundant legends which represent the Karian and Lykian coast as the refuge of decadent and retreating peoples whom 'Minos,' the figurehead of the Mykenaeen thalasso-

<sup>1</sup> The principal feature of difference is that the Lydian tumuli usually have one or more *stelae* on the summit, which are never present on Karian tumuli.

<sup>2</sup> Louvie, *Salle des Oracles* B.C.H. 1879,

p. 129, Pl. V. (Dumont) = Perrot-Chipiez v. fig. 293-8. Lydian Pottery, Perrot-Chipiez v. fig. 194-201.

<sup>3</sup> This comparison has already been made by Dr. Winter, *Month. Ath.* xii. p. 227.

cracy, gradually expelled from Crete and the Cyclades. Of these retreating peoples, the Leleges are represented throughout as typical; and we shall see that the one part of the Karian coast—in fact the one known region at all—which remained typically Lelegian in historic times was the peninsula of Myndos with the adjacent mainland. It is not improbable that ‘Karian’ in the legends may be used rather as a descriptive geographical term than as an ethnic; and therefore that Karian in many of these legends really means Lelegian, especially in view of the evidence that the element of the mixed population of Karia which was politically predominant in historic times arrived, as in Lydia, comparatively late, and probably in the sub-Mykenaeon period; preceding only by a little the irruption of Phrygian and Thracian tribes from beyond the Hellespont, which was still in progress in the VIIIth and VIIth centuries. It is to this race, and to this period, that the ‘Karian Thalassocracy’ of Greek tradition is to be referred. The ‘Karian Thalassocracy’ is never called Lelegian; it succeeds the Mykenaeon, and unites with early Ionian—that is Lydian coastland—enterprise in the Levant in the VIIth century; and it disappears in the later VIth century; though in the Persian Wars, especially in the Ionian revolt, and in the Delian League, Karia and especially that part with which we are concerned, played a part more considerable than Greek historians were willing to allow; but it leaves characteristic relics, in the proverbial import of the word *Κάρ*, and in the hoplite armour of crested helmet, round parrying-shield, borne on the arm by *καρόνες*, and quilted or metallic breastplate, which Hellas borrowed from Karia to replace the Mykenaeon body-shield, and helmet of dogskin or boar-tusks.

At this point, comment may be permitted on the record by Thucydides of the discovery of ‘Karian’ tombs in Delos. The importance of this passage has been much exaggerated, for Thucydides has placed himself in an archaeological dilemma. Either (*α*) he means to compare the arms found in Delos with the arms of pre-Minoan, (that is pre-Mykenaeon) Karia; in which case it is a fair question; ‘How did Thucydides know what the arms of that remote period were like?’; or (*β*) to compare them with the ‘Karian’ armour of the VIth and Vth century; in which case, what is proved, about either Delos or Karia, for any *other* period? The discovery of cist graves in the peninsula of Myndos makes it just possible that Thucydides may have anticipated our comparison of these with the Cycladic cists; but Cycladic weapons are inconspicuous, and none have been found as yet at Assarlik; and we are strongly inclined to believe that Thucydides was describing VIIth–VIth century tombs containing ‘Karian’ hoplite armour of the type noted by Herodotus.

#### IV. *Lelegian Remains.*

To the period of the ‘Karian Thalassocracy’ we refer the numerous fortresses and walled towns of rude masonry, and the great necropoleis which we have already described. But it is a further question whether they may

accurately be described as Karian. For it is most noteworthy that the area over which these, and, in particular, the chambered tumuli, occur, coincides very closely with that of the historic Lelegia; and that this observation seems to have been made already in antiquity, and possibly even before the final extinction of the Leleges.

Strabo<sup>1</sup> gives a full and circumstantial account, evidently from a well-informed local authority, of the historical Leleges of the Karian coast-land. He says that they are to be clearly distinguished from the true Karians, and that after a Homeric defeat by Achilles they had left an earlier settlement in Aeolis—namely the Pedasa, on the Satnioeis<sup>2</sup> river—, had migrated to Karia, and had occupied the neighbourhood of what is now called Halikarnassos. This country was still called Pedasis, and inland of Halikarnassos was the deserted Lelegian town of Pedasa. We have collected evidence already to show that this Pedasa is not the town at Karaja Hissar, which is expressly mentioned by Strabo, in the same passage, as a distinct town in the neighbourhood of Stratonikeia; and that the only site which suits the Halikarnassian Pedasa is Ghiuk Chalar, only a few miles immediately inland of Budrum.<sup>3</sup> Strabo adds that here the Leleges became very numerous in early times, founded eight towns in Pedasis, and spread over Karia ‘as far as Myndos and Bargylia’; and that they also held part of Pisidia. This can only mean that they occupied the whole of the peninsula of Myndos, and spread eastward as far as the Kar-Ova; for Strabo goes on to say that when Mausôlos incorporated six of the eight towns in his new foundation of Halikarnassos he preserved Myndos and Syangela (Theangela): Theangela therefore was one of the eight towns of the Pedasis: and the Pedasis was still a recognised division of Karia in the fourth century B.C. The immediate mention of the Stratonikeian Pedason shows that Strabo regarded the town at Karaja Hissar also as at all events presumably Lelegian; and he concludes with the statement that ‘all over Karia, and in [the territory of] Miletos there are shown Lelegian tombs, forts, and traces of settlements’ (xiii. p. 611). The last statement he repeats almost verbally, in the parallel passage (vii. p. 321).

Strabo’s evidence then, amounts to this, (1) that certain monuments, all over Karia, were ascribed to Lelegian builders; (2) that the Leleges were believed to have formerly extended over a large part of the Karian coast; (3) that they originally invaded, and still occupied the peninsula of Myndos and the mainland immediately adjacent to the eastward; (4) that they were of distinct race from the Karians, and were already settled there when the Karians entered Karia. These four points may be reviewed somewhat in detail.

(1) The monuments which Strabo regards as typically Lelegian, doubtless from their apparent likeness to the remains which were characteristic of Lelegia itself, are ‘tombs, forts, and traces of settlements.’ Now these three classes of remains are actually characteristic of the early civilisation which we

<sup>1</sup> xiii. p. 611. Cf. vii. p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> vii. p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 192-4.

have attempted to explore and describe. Nearly all the summits and ridges in the peninsula of Myndos are occupied by conspicuous tombs, fortified enclosures, or foundations of houses, grouped or isolated. All the remains which we have seen are marked upon the map of the peninsula (Pl. XI.); and it will be seen that though they are rare on the hills immediately round Myndos, they become more frequent eastwards; but that beyond the isthmus they become rarer again, and that the easternmost examples are the *τάφοι* of Pirnari Yaila near Keramos<sup>1</sup> and on the road thence to the PEDASON of Karaja Hissar; the *ἐρύματα* of Ishek Diré and Khalketor; and the *ἔχνη κατοικιῶν* on the Monastir Dagħ and the hill above Agachli Oyuk (Pl. X.).

(2) From the passages in question, it is clear that the Leleges played in Karian archaeology the part of the 'Druids' or 'ancient Britons' among ourselves, and were made responsible for any unexplained monument; whether of a type which was found in the habitat of the historical Leleges, or not. We should hardly be justified therefore in pressing Strabo's words with regard to any particular monument in the Milesian territory, or in any other part of Karia, unless it conformed to a type characteristic of Lelegia itself. But it is worth noting, that in the Milesian territory, which Strabo expressly mentions in both passages, one chambered tumulus has been already found, and a large number of stoneheaps (*ἀρμακάδες*), which are outwardly indistinguishable from the smaller tumuli of Ghiuk Chalar and its neighbourhood. And in confirmation of Strabo's statement we may quote the epithet *Λελεγηῆς*, applied to Miletos by Stephanos, and probably known to him from a lost epic source; and Plutarch's story of the outcast Leleges at Tralles.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the local antiquary, whom Strabo follows, was probably not far wrong: for early tradition, and ancient and modern research, agree in asserting an early extension of the Lelegian race beyond their boundaries in historic times.

(3) Strabo's statement that the real home of the Leleges was the Pedasis near Halikarnassos, and the surrounding country, is supported by other passages, which we have already discussed in connection with the site of Pedasa.<sup>3</sup> It needs only to be added, that this was the only part of Karia which resisted the invasions of Harpagos<sup>4</sup> and Daurises,<sup>5</sup> and pursued a distinct and coherent policy of its own; and that whereas the Karians needed strong Milesian encouragement even to risk a second battle, the inhabitants of 'Pedasa' carried on guerilla warfare long after, and with apparent success; which indicates that the frontier-line, from Bargylia approximately to Keramos, was still of something more than merely political or military value at the time of the Ionic Revolt.

(4) All this tends to confirm Strabo's ethnological distinction between

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. 2, *Gr.* 46. Stephan. s. vv. *Ναύη* and *Μεγαλήπολις* knows also of Leleges at Aphrodisias in central Karia.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 192-4: namely Hdt. i. 129,

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v. 119-121, vi. 20. Livy xxxiii. 30. Pliny, N.H. v. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. i. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. v. 119-121.

the Karians and the Leleges. Two other facts only need be added under this head.

One is, that Philip of Theangela<sup>1</sup> in the third century, himself a native of Lelegia, speaks of the Lelegians of his time as *scrfs* of the Karians. This serfdom may of course only date from the *ξυνοικισμός* of Mausôlos; but more probably comes down from the original entry of the Karians into the country. Plutarch's account of Lelegian outcasts at Tralles<sup>2</sup> confirms the view that they represent a conquered remnant. The other is, that to the worship of Zeus Karios at Mylasa, the central principality of historic Karia, Lydians and Mysians were admitted, according to Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> as being brothers to the Karians: but, Herodotus adds, *ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλοι ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα*: which can hardly refer to any race but the Leleges, regarded as occupying in Karia an analogous position to that of the Pelasgi (and other 'Leleges') in Hellas.<sup>4</sup> Plutarch's aetiological account of Zeus Karios and his axe-emblem, is of value here to confirm the presumption of kinship between the Lydians and the true Karians. We conclude therefore, that the tumuli and associated sites and monuments represent the civilisation of the Leleges; that the correspondence between its earlier stages, and the Cycladic and Mykenaeen civilisations respectively, confirms the tradition that they were originally spread over parts of the Aegean, and were driven in upon the Karian coast by the 'Minoan' thalassocracy; and that their further reduction within the narrow limits of the historical Lelegia was due to the coastward aggression of the Lydo-Karian stock, which when it reached the sea, fraternised with the earlier Hellenic settlers and established the Karian thalassocracy of the VIIIth and VIIth centuries.

#### V. *The Mausoleum and the 'Chambered Tumuli.'*

One further point in regard to Mausôlos refers more immediately to the chambered tumuli from which we started. In all the reconstructions of the Mausoleum which have been attempted, the following have been fixed points:—

- (1) That the building consisted of a lofty chamber,
- (2) That this chamber stood on or in a high plinth with projecting cornice,
- (3) That it was surrounded by a portico with another projecting cornice,
- (4) That above the cornice was a pyramidal roof,
- (5) That the chamber within the pyramid was rooted with a 'false arch.'
- (6) That the staircase, if there was one, went up in the thickness of the wall.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Athenaeus, 271b.

<sup>2</sup> 2, *Gr.* 16.

<sup>3</sup> i. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hdt. i. 57.

But it has not been pointed out, that, stripped of its purely Hellenic peristyle, and of the rectangular form which this feature, and the felt analogies of temple architecture demanded, the Mausoleum, thus reduced to its elements, is nothing but a glorified example of the indigenous 'chambered tumulus.'

Allowing for the difference of scale and of ground-plan, for the effect of Hellenic canons of proportion, and in particular for the substitution of a pyramid of isodamous masonry for a mere heap of loose rubble, it will be seen that every characteristic feature of the Mausoleum finds its exact homologue in one or other of our 'chambered tumuli.'

And nothing is more natural, than that the founder of a new, and mainly Lelegian, state should go to Lelegian ritual and architecture for the model of the chief monument of the dynasty; especially if, as, is quite possible, this mode of burial was already traditional in his own family; which came from Kindya, (Cholmekji Kalé), where chambered tumuli are already known to exist.

W. R. PATON.

J. L. MYRES.

*Erratum.*—In our previous paper, the inscription No. 18 (*J.H.S.* xvi. 225), which is wrongly described there as copied at *Teichioussa* (Kara-Koyun), is really W. R. P.'s copy of the inscription No. 35B from *Amyzon* (p. 233), which latter, as is stated there, represents Mr. Szanto's copy. J. L. M.'s note (pp. 233-4) on the discrepancies between No. 18 and No. 35 was written in the belief that the transcript labelled *Teichioussa* represented a different stone.

## A SCARAB FROM CYPRUS.

MR. HOGARTH in his *Devia Cypria*, page 9, describes a scarab found near Chrysochou, as follows:—

‘It is beautifully engraved with a group of Heracles, armed with bow, quiver and skin, wrestling with a lion, while behind him stands a draped female figure, without any distinguishing attributes. Over the group are cut the following characters :

↑ I ✕ √ ∞ ↑ ∟

*i.e.* Διφειθέμιφος, genitive of the name Διφειθέμις, which occurs in the twenty-first line of the bronze tablet of Dali (*Sammlung der griech. dialekt-Inscr.* i. p. 28). I was unable to take an impression of the scarab, or to examine it satisfactorily; but I should judge the lettering to be of the fourth century B.C.’

This scarab is now in my possession, and I can, therefore, study it more attentively than Mr. Hogarth did when this precious monument was in the hands of its former owner.

As can be seen from the drawing annexed the figures on the scarab do not allude to the struggle of Heracles with the Nemean Lion, but to the struggle of Theseus with the Cretan Minotaur. The latter can be at once



recognized from his monstrous features, from his having the body of a man and the head of a bull, just as Pasiphae's son is represented in Greek archaic art. I need hardly add that on no monument is seen a woman in the struggle of Heracles with the Nemean lion; on the contrary the presence of a woman, Ariadne, in the struggle of Theseus with the Minotaur, is a most natural fact of which the monuments of the Theseus myth furnish more than one example.

Mr. Hogarth's oversight is due, I think, to the peculiar way in which the Athenian hero is represented on this scarab. If Theseus kills the Minotaur with the sword, as tradition says, he bears on his back the bow and quiver as Heracles does : and he has, moreover, a beard, like Heracles.

Thus we have before us a scene of the Theseus legend in which he is represented in the same way as we are accustomed to see Heracles : what can we infer from this ? The Cypriote inscription does not suffice by itself to solve the question ; for a Greek artist could very easily execute this work in his own manner, and engrave afterwards in Cypriote characters the name of the owner.

To whose hand are we then to attribute this intaglio ? To the hand of a Cypriote ? Perhaps the artist was a Phoenician settled in Cyprus. Take, for instance, Theseus' head, and the way in which the hair and head-band are treated : this head is altogether the same as those on truly Phoenician monuments : the bearded head is thus represented in a mode which the Phoenicians took from Egypt.

If again we examine Ariadne we may also come to the conclusion that we have to do with a Cypriote or Phoenician artist. One might think that the engraver had in view the type of a woman or a goddess withdrawing her veil, a type so often reproduced on Greek archaic monuments. But the artist did not well understand the movement of the hand, nor could he reproduce this movement in the same way as a Greek artist ; nor does Ariadne's hand seem to withdraw the veil, but to hold a short staff, the top of which touches the upper part of her head.

One may, therefore, observe a double influence in the cutting of this intaglio : the imitation of objects familiar to Greek archaism, and the habits of Phoenician style on a work on which the artist seems to copy a representation borrowed from Hellenic art.

But the interest of this precious monument does not lie in its representation only.

As to the inscription I may say that *Διφειθέμης* is a name well known in Cypriote epigraphy, not only from the Dali Bronze Tablet, but also from an inscription on a silver vessel found amongst the treasures of Kurium, and published by Mr. Hall. This latter inscription runs as follows :—

*ti - v - i - te - mi - to - se*  
*e - mi - to - pa - si - le - ro - se - to . . .*  
*Διφειθέμης ἐμὶ τῷ Βασιλῆος τῷ . . .*

It is, therefore, most likely that this scarab is a royal seal, and belonged to the same king, *Διφειθέμης*, who dedicated the vessel in question to the Temple at Kurium.

G. D. PIERIDES.

[*Note*.—It is only fair to Mr. Hogarth to say that when he saw the scarab it was attached to its owner's watch-chain, and he was not allowed



even to hold it in his hand. Mr. Hogarth believes that the correction has been already made by Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter, but owing to absence from England is unable to give us the exact reference.

For similar types of Theseus and the Minotaur see Furtwängler, *A.Z.* 1884, p. 108 (Pl. viii. 2: gold-relief from Corinth) and C. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* xiv. 210 (Polledrara hydria).—EDD.]

## I.—A STONE TRIPOD AT OXFORD.

[PLATE XII.]

THE tripod represented in Pl. XII. and in Fig. 1 is  $26\frac{1}{2}$  inches (m. 0·66) in height; the diameter is at the bottom  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches (m. 0·54) and at the top



FIG. 1.—TRIPOD AT OXFORD.

14 inches (m. 0·36). The material is limestone of a kind common in most parts of Greece, especially the Peloponnesus.

The tripod was presented to All Souls' College in 1771 by Anthony Lefroy. The stand bears an inscription recording the gift, which contains a curious phrase in which the tripod is spoken of as 'aram tripodem olim matri denum in templo S. Corinthi consecratum.' I know not what the S before Corinthi may stand for. But the important thing is that the monument comes from Corinth. This is again asserted in the lettering of a print of it published by Gori in the *Numismata Lefroyana*, and repeated in a Magazine called *The Topographer* (November, 1789, p. 514), where Gori writes 'Trovato a Corinto.' It may be doubted whether Lefroy had any solid reason for supposing that the tripod came from a temple of the Mother of the Gods. Such a temple did exist at Corinth on the slope of the Acropolis Hill, as we learn from Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> But, so far as I know, no remains of that temple have been observed in modern times. It can scarcely be regarded as likely that Lefroy had any reason to suppose that the tripod came from the actual site of that temple: it is far more probable that the figures of women standing on lions were to him a sufficient proof that the monument came from the temple of the Mother of the Gods which is mentioned by Pausanias.

Professor Michaelis, when at Oxford, saw this tripod, and has described it at p. 592 of his admirable work *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*. That he did not fully appreciate its interest and importance may be explained in part by the extreme haste with which he was compelled to catalogue the Oxford marbles, and in part by the want of parallels, which have only since come to light.

I must describe the tripod in some detail. On a round pedestal with three feet recline three lions, on each of which stands a female figure clad in a long chiton girt at the waist, and wearing on the head a kind of stephane, and over that a round crown or *polos*. Each grasps in one hand the tail of the lion whereon she stands, with the other apparently raises her dress. On the heads of the three women rests a basis, supported also by a central column, in the form of an hour glass, with torus in the midst. The basis has in the midst of its upper surface a hole, circular, but with an enlargement at one side, a hole  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep, and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter. It seems evident that into this hole fitted the stem of a large circular basin. This basin was in fact turned round in the hole until part of the upper surface of the support was worn smooth: it was then fixed in its place by lead poured through the enlargement just mentioned. The heat of the lead has broken the stone at that point (see Fig. 1).

In the opinion of Gori our tripod was unique. Of late years however, fragments of two or three bases of somewhat similar character have been found.

First there is the basis of blue Laconian marble from Olympia, reconstructed with great skill and talent by Dr. Treu<sup>2</sup> on the evidence of a well known small female figure and a fragment of a lion. We reproduce

<sup>1</sup> ii. 4. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia*, iii. p. 26.

his figure (Fig. 2). Its likeness in all essential features to our monument is remarkable. Only in one or two points does the new material which we have to submit suggest emendations on Dr. Treu's reconstruction. First it seems probable that the lowest support did not rest upon the ground all round, but was worked into tripod form (see our Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Secondly Dr. Treu seems not to be justified in accepting Prof. Furtwängler's suggestion that the objects

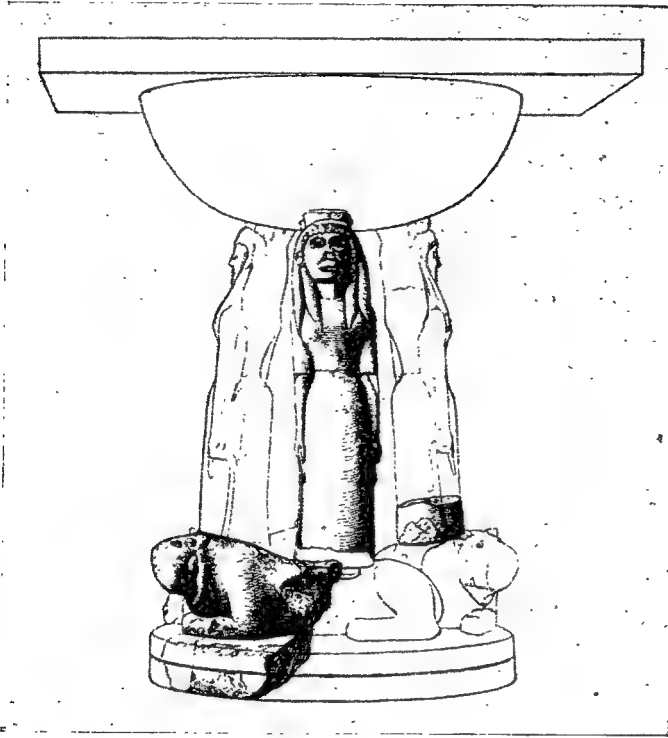


FIG. 2.—TRIPOD AT OLYMPIA.

in the ladies' hands are merely parts of their dress. The left hand of each figure does appear to grasp the dress, but the right hand holds in each case the tail of the lion on which the figure stands.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Treu cites other female figures of closely similar character, which

<sup>1</sup> In a private letter Dr. Treu informs me that he has now no doubt that the basis of the Olympian tripod was not continuous. He writes, 'Insbesondere scheint es mir sicher, dass der untere Ring sich, wie bei Ihrem Exemplar, auf drei Füsse stützte. Selbst die Höhe der Füsse ist durch die Linie gegeben, welche aussen in der Mitte des Ringes entlang läuft,

und die nun erst ihre Erklärung findet.'

<sup>2</sup> Earlier, they had been called snakes, whence the figure passed as one of the Eumenides. The objects in the right hands end in a tuft: those in the left hands do not. Dr. Treu says that he did for a moment think of the lion's tail, *i.e.* p. 28. note.

have come to light in the excavations at Olympia and in the Ptoion in Boeotia.<sup>1</sup> In all probability these belonged to similar vessels.

We may also compare some basins now preserved in the Central Museum at Athens, made of Naxian marble<sup>2</sup>; these appear to have had as supports six female figures standing back to back in a circle: but here the lions are absent.

All these monuments, basins resting on a stand adorned with human figures, were no doubt connected with the service of the gods, perhaps as *περιπραντήρια* or vessels to hold the water for purification. Dr. Tren thinks the specimen from Olympia to have stood in the line of the Treasuries. The Athenian specimens were inscribed with inscriptions probably dedicating them to Athena. Larger vessels of a similar character are mentioned in ancient literature. Herodotus<sup>3</sup> tells of a great bronze crater dedicated by Colaeus and the Samians to Hera, which rested on kneeling figures of bronze. And Pausanias<sup>4</sup> speaks of three tripods dedicated at Amyclae, of which the first two were supported by bronze figures of Aphrodite and Artemis by Gitiadas, and the third by a figure of Cora by Callon of Aegina. A tripod of not dissimilar character, but of freer style and later date, has been found at Delphi. M. Homolle thus describes it.<sup>5</sup> 'Trois figures de femmes, qui dansent en se tenant la main autour d'une colonne en forme de tige de plante: elles portent la robe courte et flottante, le polus évasé en calice et orné de feuilles pointues qu'on voit sur la tête des danseuses de Gioelbaschi. Il semble que ce fût la base d'un tripied.' M. Homolle does not assign a date to this work, but it would seem to be late.

Conjectures in such matters are risky. But it naturally occurs to one that this disposition of three figures as supports of a tripod may lie near the origin of many things in Greek art; for example of the threefold representation of Hecate, which is said to have been an invention of Alcamenes; perhaps of the Graces and other groups.

In the inferior material of terra-cotta we can find several tripod-basins which may be compared with our example. Perhaps the most striking of these is among the Etruscan vases of the Louvre. It is thus described by M. Pottier<sup>6</sup> 'coupe à pied, supportée par quatre femmes formant caryatides; style du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.' M. Pottier suggests that this vase may be Rhodian by origin. In any case many imitations of the type in Etruscan bucchero nero are known; one is figured in Richter's *Kypros*.<sup>7</sup> The supporting figures are quite flat and pressed in a mould. Among Cyprian remains we find small stone basins supported by an animal, or a winged female figure.<sup>8</sup>

It was quite natural for Gori and Lefroy to suppose that the tripod of

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Collignon, *Hist. Sculp. Gr.* i. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* xvii. p. 41, pl. 7.

<sup>3</sup> iv. 152.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 18, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. de Corresp. hell.* 1894, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> Pottier, *Vases Antiques de terre cuite*, p.

168, no. 396*a*. Mr. J. L. Myres, to whom I owe this reference, informs me that the figures are draped, and hold their hands to their breasts in the conventional pose.

<sup>7</sup> Pl. cxxxiv. 1: one winged figure and two plain supports.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* Richter, pl. cxxxiv. 2.

Oxford belonged to the service of the Mother of the Gods, Cybele. The female figure standing on a lion, and holding his tail, must be derived from an Asiatic prototype which figured a goddess of the Cybele class. On Egyptian monuments the Syrian goddess Qadesh, a form of Anaitis, is represented as standing on a lion, passant.<sup>1</sup> And on the cylinders of Babylon, and the wall sculptures of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia it is not unusual to find deities standing on various beasts and fabulous monsters.<sup>2</sup> But this scheme is not adopted in Greece, and the lion is rather held in the hand of the deity, or walking beside him, than serving as a support to his feet. So the winged Artemis or *πότνια θηρῶν* of Greece retains traces of oriental origin in the animals she masters; but she does not stand on them. On the other hand animals as architectural supports to pillars are known even in the Christian architecture of the Levant.

There was a Metroon at Olympia near the spot where Dr. Treu's tripod was found. And there was a Metroon at Corinth, from which our tripod may have come. But I am disposed to think that serious mythologic meaning has passed from these figures standing on lions, and that they have become merely architectonic in character. There are three such figures together, and they are used for the not very dignified purpose of supporting a basin, so that no real notions of cultus can have attached to them. Thus it seems quite likely that our tripod may have belonged to the service of any of the gods, not of Cybele only.

The comparison of the Oxford tripod with that from Olympia is most instructive. The form, the use, the character, even the scale of the two vessels is the same. Evidently they are specimens of a kind of monument common in antiquity, though now rare, and of a fixed definite type. Only in style and in period do the vessels differ. And in order to determine the date of the Oxford tripod we must examine it somewhat closely.

The work is certainly not finished or careful: some parts, such as the paws of the lions, are merely blocked out in the stone. And the whole surface has greatly suffered from exposure to weather. The style is late archaic or archaizing. The characteristics of archaic art are preserved, but in the treatment some freedom is visible. The hair of the women falls in a long mane over their backs, and in four long curls on their shoulders. The ear is high, almost on a level with the eye. The drapery falls stiffly, but not as in the Olympia figure in a solid mass: two long perpendicular folds run from the waist-band to the feet, and horizontal folds are visible over the breast, as well as below the waist. The arms are not detached from the sides. The hair of the lions is rendered in detached irregular locks. The pillar in the midst is in a form which can be traced downwards from the Mycenaean age, and occurs in early tripods of *bucchero nero* of Etruria.<sup>3</sup> It is decidedly early in type.

<sup>1</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, i. p. 713.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. pp. 643, 647 etc. Cf. the well-known coins of Tarsus, of which the type is a

deity standing on a horned lion.

<sup>3</sup> Martha, *L'art Etrusque*, p. 475.

Our tripod then seems to be a variety dating from the earlier part of the fifth century of a fixed archaic type. One detail of style especially well suits the period I have named. Horizontal folds of the chiton from breast to breast are not infrequent in sculpture of the middle of the fifth century; for example they occur in the Hestia Giustiniani, the bronze girls from Herculaneum, and several early Attic grave reliefs, such as those of Myuno and Tito.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand they do not seem to occur in the frieze of the Parthenon and in later grave-reliefs. These folds are notable in one of the figures of our monument. The arrangement of the hair is not unlike that which we find in the Corae of the Erechtheium, but earlier in type.

It seems clear, then, that the style and type of our tripod belongs to a time not later than the middle of the fifth century. It appears to be an original of that age. If however it is a Roman copy, it is a faithful copy of an earlier type. In the forms of the back, the folds of the chiton, and, in other respects, our female figures present a complete contrast to the superficiality of ordinary Roman work.

The tripod-basis of All Souls thus appears a much more interesting and important work than has been hitherto supposed. It seems to be an original of the early fifth century B.C. And it is the only extant well-preserved example of a kind of utensil, probably quite common in ancient Greece, and of a fixed pattern, which was used for sacred purposes in the various shrines of Greece: most likely, as I have already observed, for holding the holy water used for the purification of those who came into the presence of the gods.

## II.—THE MANTINEAN BASIS.

As Overbeck in the fourth edition of his *Geschichte der Plastik* has recanted his doubts as to the period and authenticity of the sculptures of the Basis of Mantinea, it is fair to regard them as undoubted works of about B.C. 370, and as coming at all events from the workshop of the master whose statues stood above them. Thus the discovery of this basis must be regarded as a very fortunate addition to our sources of knowledge, both of the art of Praxiteles, and of the types of the Muses in the fourth century. Fig. 3 gives these slabs in what I hold to be the true arrangement.

I must begin with a brief consideration of the description of the basis by Pausanias, the only ancient writer who mentions it: τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Αἰτωλῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο τρίτη μετὰ Ἀλκαμένην ὑστερον γενεῇ· τούτων πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ Μοῦσα καὶ Μαρσύας αὐλῶν. As the phrase, 'A Muse and Marsyas playing the flutes,' is a very inadequate description of the reliefs as they stand, the suggestion has been made, and is generally accepted, that the true reading should be Μοῦσαι. This reading, however, has no documentary authority, and such a correction of the text of Pausanias seems to be unnecessary. If

<sup>1</sup> Myuno, *Attische Grabreliefs* pl. xvii : Tito, *ibid.* pl. xviii. cf. pl. xxv etc.

we suppose that Pausanias (or his authority, for it comes to much the same thing), was describing the basis from autopsy, it seems quite likely that he was speaking only of the group in it which was most noteworthy, the group of Apollo the slave and Marsyas. The figure of Marsyas is unmistakable to any one at a glance. But a hasty visitor of the Roman age might very easily take the figure of the seated Apollo for a Muse. A seated Apollo, fully draped and holding the lyre, was a rarity in ancient sculpture, though not on vases or coins. Seated Muses holding the lyre would be far from familiar to



FIG. 3.—BASIS OF MANTINEIA.

an ancient connoisseur. Thus the reading *Μοῦσα* seems defensible; Pausanias took the girl of the Olympian Pediment for a groom, why should he not have taken the seated Apollo at Mantinea for a Muse? The point is perhaps one of no great importance: but if *Μοῦσα* be the right reading it renders us almost certain that the group of Apollo and Marsyas stood in the midst of the relief as in our engraving; and I shall endeavour to prove the great probability of this disposition.

The base supported a group of three figures, Leto and her two children. The restoration of this group by Waldstein, which Overbeck has now



FIG. 4.—COIN OF MEGARA.

adopted,<sup>1</sup> is singularly unsatisfactory, I may say impossible. It is more suitable to a so-called Asia Minor terra-cotta than to the age of Praxiteles. The central figure of the group would be not Leto, as Waldstein makes it, but Apollo, and the three deities would almost certainly be detached. We have not, unfortunately, upon coins, any copy of the Praxitelean group at Mantinea: but we possess on a coin of Severus struck at Megara a copy of a probable replica made for that city by the same Master,<sup>2</sup> which I annex (Fig. 4). On the left is Leto clad in a long chiton, holding a sceptre in the

<sup>1</sup> Waldstein, *Am. Journ. Arch.* vii. pl. 1. Overbeck, *Plastik*, ed. 4, ii. p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. i. 44. 2 cf. *Numism. Comment. on Pausanias*, Pl. A. x. p. 7.



right hand. In the midst stands Apollo in citharoedic dress, holding plectrum and lyre. On the right stands Artemis, clad in long chiton, and apparently with her right hand drawing an arrow from the quiver which hangs at her back. The testimony of this coin is most important, and must be considered in some detail. Of recent writers, none has, so far as I am aware, denied that it gives us a representation of the Praxitelean group. But some archaeologists, such as Klein and Overbeck,<sup>1</sup> are disposed to regard that group as a work of the Praxiteles who is by some supposed to have been a contemporary of Pheidias. Furtwängler<sup>2</sup> attributes it alternatively to the elder Praxiteles, or to the younger at the very commencement of his career. Now the existence of the elder Praxiteles is a matter of the gravest doubt. And an examination of the figures on the coin seems to show that all the three types of the deities are such as may fairly be attributed to the well-known sculptor of the name, if we make due allowance for the minuteness of the figures and the carelessness with which they are executed.

The type of Apollo as standing Citharoedus clearly belongs to the fourth century. Stephani, followed by Overbeck<sup>3</sup> regards the citharoedic dress consisting of a long chiton with girdle, and a mantle falling over the back, as first given to Apollo in the fourth century. It is the dress of the Apollo of Bryaxis at Antioch<sup>4</sup> and of certain statues regarded as of the school of Scopas. The type of Leto in long chiton with diplois, resting on her sceptre, may be well compared with the Eirene of Cephissodotus, the likeness of which to works of Praxiteles is acknowledged. The type of Artemis in huntress guise, but wearing a long chiton, is commonly regarded as especially Praxitelean.<sup>5</sup> Numerous statues of this type exist in the Museums, none apparently earlier than the fourth century. Among extant figures of the class, one of the nearest to the type of our coin is the Munich Artemis (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 324) regarded by Furtwängler as Praxitelean. We may compare also the Praxitelean type of Leto at Argos.<sup>6</sup>

All the three types of the coin may thus be classed as Praxitelean. This result of our slight inquiry must be considered as very satisfactory, and tends to justify us in setting a considerable value on numismatic evidence, which is apt to be undervalued by those who are not familiar with coins. The bronze coins issued at Greek cities in the time of the Antonines are really of inestimable value for such purposes as the present.

It seems more than probable that at Mantinea a closely similar grouping and like schemes of the deities were adopted. A mere paratactic arrangement of the three scarcely suits our modern notions of art; but it is easy to show from many instances that it was quite usual in Greece at this period. And it is the kind of arrangement which prevails in the basis before us.

The next point to consider is the probable arrangement of the slabs in the basis. Here it is at once clear that they could not have been placed on

<sup>1</sup> Klein in *Arch. Epigraph. Method.* iv. 16:  
Overbeck in *Griech. Plastik* (1 ed.) i. p. 500

<sup>2</sup> *Meisterwerke*, p. 538.

<sup>3</sup> *Kunstmythol. Apollon*, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid. Münzf. v.* 39.

<sup>5</sup> So Schreiber in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 606.

<sup>6</sup> *Numism. Comm. on Pausanias*, Pl. K.  
36-38.

three sides of it. Three figures of deities, placed side by side, if of ordinary heroic size, would require a base at least 12 feet in length. The three slabs together make up  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet. It is almost certain then that the slabs of the relief stood side by side on the front of the base.

An assumption has been made by those who have hitherto dealt with these reliefs that there was a fourth slab, on which were figured three more Muses, which slab has utterly perished. This assumption seems to me quite gratuitous and even objectionable. It has been supposed that the Muses represented must be nine in number. This supposition however lacks all ground. It is true that to Homer and to Hesiod the Muses are nine, and that they appear as nine on the François vase of the early sixth century. But the number nine is anything but invariable in the art of early Greece. The number three, the sacred number of the Horae, the Charites and the Nymphs, so far sways the representations of the Muses that they usually appear as in number some multiple of three, that is, three six or nine; but even this rule is by no means absolute.

Antipater of Sidon<sup>1</sup> tells us of a triad of Muses, the work of the three archaic artists, Aristocles, Ageladas and Canachus. Muses appeared in the east pediment of the Delphic temple, works of Praxias; but as to their number we are not informed: but Bie<sup>2</sup> gives reasons for supposing that they were only two or three. Pausanias<sup>3</sup> speaks in his ninth book of the groups of Muses in the sanctuary at Helicon: there was one group of nine figures by Cephissodotus, and three groups of three figures each by Cephissodotus Strongylion and Olympiosthenes respectively.

When we turn from sculpture to vases, we find far greater irregularity. It is unnecessary here to set forth the evidence, as it has been collected by Bie, and it will be sufficient to cite his summing-up. 'If we consider the details of these various vase-pictures, the most obvious point is their complete liberty, as regards the numbers, names and attributes of the Muses. We find every number up to nine, only that number, which we should especially expect, is missing. Here we have the best of proofs how imperfectly fixed in this age was the idea of the Muses as a group, and how little we can expect that under such circumstances particular names of Muses would be closely connected with particular attributes.'

In the Hellenistic and Roman ages, when every Muse had her own department of music or literature, and had acquired a distinct type, it was quite natural that in reliefs and other works of art none of them should be excluded: any choice would clearly be invidious. The relief of Archelaus at the British Museum, commonly called the Apotheosis of Homer, is a typical example of the treatment of the Muses in Hellenistic art. But in the age of Praxiteles, when, as we know from other sources and from the reliefs before us, the types of the various Muses were not distinguished, and provinces had not been assigned to them, there is no clear reason why nine should be represented, rather than six or three.

<sup>1</sup> *Anthol. Palat.* xvi. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Musen*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> ix. 30, 1.

Thus there seems no sufficient reason for assuming the total loss of a slab of our relief. And an examination of the three slabs which we possess will furnish at least a probability that the group as we have it is complete.

The group of Apollo the Phrygian and Marsyas is complete in itself. The Phrygian is the central figure on either side of which Apollo and Marsyas balance each other. It seems more than probable that this group of three figures was also the central group of the whole design, flanked on each side by three figures of Muses. If we arrange these two sets of three as in our cut, figure balances figure and attitude attitude. The seated Muse is the only slight deviation from a regular series: the two outer Muses shut in the scene most satisfactorily. The total length of the three slabs thus arranged side by side, as measured on the casts, is 13 feet 7 inches, which gives  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet as the length of the basis of each of the three statues. On such a basis three figures eight or nine feet high would very appropriately stand side by side. The figure of Apollo would surmount the group representing his own contest with Marsyas, while beneath Leto and Artemis respectively would stand a group, or rather a series, of three Muses. No doubt to a modern eye such a regular arrangement would scarcely be agreeable. But that the Greeks at their best periods did not feel the same objection which occurs to us to a paratactic arrangement may be proved by many instances, such as the East Pediment of Olympia. In fact I am only supposing in the whole monument of Praxiteles the same principle of arrangement which certainly dominates the base.

That the arrangement which I suggest allows us to keep the MS. reading of Pausanias, and does not compel us to suppose that a slab of the relief is lost appears to me to tell strongly in its favour.

PERCY GARDNER.

## A KYLIX WITH A NEW ΚΑΛΟΣ NAME.

## [PLATE XIII.]

THE vase figured on Plate XIII. is an Athenian cup in the possession of a member of the Hellenic Society, Mr. C. W. Mitchell, who acquired it in Athens. It is of the heavy, somewhat squat form, with thick handles and in-set lip, such as Brygos, for example, specially affected, and measures .194 m. in diameter, .096 m. in height. The design, occupying the centre of the interior only, is in the red colour of the clay, enclosed within a thin line, against the brilliant black glaze: unfortunately the parts of the surface which were not protected by the glaze have slightly suffered from the effects of acid or ignorant cleaning, so that the sketch-marks and the finer inner-markings have almost entirely disappeared: these latter were probably not extensively employed, but faint traces still remain at the lower part of the abdomen, and on the cheek, where the whiskers (ζουλος, cf. Xen. *Symp.* iv. 23) are indicated by brushmarks in thinned black. The outline of the hair against the black background is indicated by a wavy engraved line;<sup>1</sup> and where it shows against the neck and face, by a row of minute dots fringing the sharply defined edge of the black paint. The wreath of vine, the ties of the flute and mouthpiece case, and inscription (Ἀκέστωρ καλός), are in purple.

Judging from its general style and technique, this vase must be assigned to the period of the cycle of cup-painters who are grouped around Epiktetos, that is to say, somewhere on the turn of the sixth century B.C. It belongs to the stage when the archaisms characteristic of the earlier painters in the red-figure style are making way for a closer study of real life, possibly under the growing influence of Euphronios. Signs of this archaism are apparent in the engraved outline of the hair, the stiff setting of the head, the long slender form of the feet and left hand, and the somewhat formal arrangement of the ends of drapery: while the head is in exact profile, the shoulders are not, it is true, turned completely square to the spectator, as in the archaic manner, but the artist has not yet attained the correct rendering of them in the profile view. The form of eye has clearly not yet felt the influence of

<sup>1</sup> Within the lower curves of this line the black paint has run thick, forming thus a row of circles which have the appearance, owing to the accumulation of colour, of being in relief: one sees how from an accident like this the

practice may have arisen of indicating the outline, or even the entire surface of the hair (especially for figures of Heracles, cf. *J. H. M. vase Cat.*, vol. iii. E. 104) by raised black dots.

the improvements of Euphronios: the pupil is an exact disc within the eyelids, and could certainly not be adapted to the Kimonian feats of looking upwards or downwards. But on the other hand it is easy to discern a marked advance on the general manner of the Epiktetic painters. There is a certain 'go' about the figure, a strength, and yet a gracefulness of line, which bespeak a hand that is within measurable distance of perfect freedom. The head has the nearly semicircular cranium, the short upper lip, and the short full chin: the nose is nearly straight, with the end forming almost a right angle; the mouth has the lips slightly parted (a striking innovation as compared with the older style) and the corner gently curved: the upper eyelid has the wavy form almost approximating to an S. All these characteristics combine to present a type which is nearest to that of Euphronios<sup>1</sup>; but no one I think would venture to assign our kylix to his hand. To whom then should it be attributed?

Hartwig has pointed out (*Meistersch.* p. 172 foll.) that the cup in Baltimore signed by Phintias enables us to group together under that artist's name a series of cups with the inscription *Ναυρίας καλός*, which the Baltimore cup bears beside the artist's signature. The type of figure in that cup has almost precisely the same characteristics as have been noted on our vase: it has moreover the peculiar treatment of the breasts which in both cases are drawn almost as if they were those of a woman. It is true that the Baltimore cup has the drapery drawn as transparent: but, as Hartwig himself remarks, this was probably only a passing fancy of Phintias, and foreign to his usual practice. On that cup the artist has drawn a young ephebos, possibly Chairias himself, chaffering in the Cerameicus with the vase-seller; the gilded youth of Athens probably gave the potter's quarter plenty of material for gossip, and such a subject, rendered additionally attractive by the inscription of the actual celebrity's name, was quite in Phintias' taste: so much so that on another cup in Berlin, probably assignable to him (Furtwangler, *Samml. Saburoff*, Pl. LIII. 2, he shows us Chairias again, this time as the gay young reveller coming back from a banquet. Except that he has a kylix in his extended left palm instead of a cotylê, the subject is practically identical with that of our cup: the figure swings along to the right, with rhythmic step as if to the music of the flutes, his disordered dress, his vine wreath, and his cup showing clearly whence he comes. This vase, in technique and shape (it has the same moulded lip and ring around the stem, as well as in subject and style) offers the closest parallel to the one before us, and I have little hesitation in assigning this also to the hand of Phintias.<sup>2</sup>

On the analogy of the Chairias vases, we may perhaps consider the figure of the reveller here as representing Akestor himself. Who was this Akestor?

<sup>1</sup> The method of drawing the drapery as falling in a series of heavy swelling folds over the shoulders is one that Euphronios particularly favoured: the most beautiful examples of course that which occurs in the figure of Amphitibos on his Thersas cup in Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Hartwig, *loc. cit.*, mainly on account of the posture of the figure, puts this vase to the 'Antong-punki' of the activity of Phintias: but I venture to doubt whether this view can be accepted in face of a comparison with the cup here described.

The person who bore this name, best known to Athenian history, was the son of Epilykos, the father of Agenor, to whose stock Miltiades belonged.<sup>1</sup> It happens that the name of Epilykos occurs on the Bourguignon Sostratos psykter (Klein, *Liebblingsn.* p. 65) and if we may allow an average of twenty years between the ages when father and son were respectively before the public as Kalos (*i.e.* in the ephebos stage) this would fairly represent the comparative difference of date which for reasons of style we should *a priori* assign to the Sostratos psykter and the kylix here published. But such identifications are notoriously uncertain.

CECIL SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> Pherkydes in Marcell. *vit. Thuc.* 2.

THE GAME OF POLIS AND PLATO'S *REP.* 422 E.

Ἄλλὰ τί μὴν; ἔφη. Μειζόνως, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, χρὴ προσαγορεύειν τὰς ἄλλας· ἐκάστη γὰρ αὐτῶν πόλεις εἰσὶ πάμπολλαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις, τὸ τῶν παιζόντων.

This well known passage has given rise to some discussion in recent years, the words τὸ τῶν παιζόντων being the centre of the fray.

The Scholiast says πόλεις παίζειν εἶδος ἐστὶ πεττευτικῆς παιδιᾶς μέτεται δὲ καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν.

Most modern commentators have followed the Scholiast. But Mr. J. A. Stewart in the *Classical Review* (Vol. vii. 359) follows the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, in stating that the Scholiast was led astray by the proverb πόλεις παίζειν, and that there is really no reference at all to the game of Polis, and compares with it the passage from the *Μενο*, 77 A. παῦσαι πολλὰ ποιῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὅπερ φασὶ τοὺς συντρίβοντάς τι ἐκάστοτε οἱ σκώπτοντες, ἀλλ' εἰσας ὅλην καὶ ὕμῃ εἰπὲ τί ἐστιν ἀρετή.

But to make the joke depend on the word πάμπολλαι is to make Plato very unlike Plato, and a very similar passage also from the *Μενο* (72 A) by the absence of any such expression as τὸ τῶν παιζόντων, or οἱ σκώπτοντες, makes it clear that Plato would not think that there was any joke in πάμπολλαι. It is again the question of One and Many referring to virtue. The words are καὶ ἄλλαι πάμπολλαι ἀρεταὶ εἰσὶ.

It would thus appear that the expression τὸ τῶν παιζόντων implies either some word play in the previous sentence πόλεις πάμπολλαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις, or else that it means an expression used by players of a game. In the former case the play can only be on the word πόλις, in the latter case the game can only be the game of πόλις: in any case there must be a reference to the game, for in the first case if there is a *double entente* in πόλις it must be on its two-fold use as 'city' and as a game called 'city.'

That such a play on the word πόλις was a good old joke at Athens in Plato's time can be proved amply by the fragment of Cratinus quoted by Julius Pollux in a passage which I will now give: ἡ δὲ διὰ πολλῶν ψήφων παιδιὰ πλινθίων ἐστὶ, χώρας ἐν γραμμαῖς ἔχον διακειμένας· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλινθίων καλεῖται πόλις, τῶν δὲ ψήφων ἐκάστη κύων· διηρημένων δὲ εἰς δύο τῶν ψήφων κατὰ τὰς χώρας, ἡ τέχνη τῆς παιδιᾶς ἐστὶ περιλήψει δύο ψήφων ἰσοχρῶν τὴν ἑτερόχρων ἀρελεῖν ὅθεν καὶ Κρατίνῳ πέπαικται, Πανδιονίδα πόλεως βασιλεῦ τῆς ἐριβωλακος, οἷσθ' ἦν λέγομεν, καὶ κύνα καὶ πόλιν, ἣν παίζουσιν (ix. 98, Bekker).

This passage is most important. From it we learn the nature of the game of Polis, and the still more important fact that the 'men' employed in this game were in the shape of dogs (*κύνες*). There are in the British Museum besides the draught-board and draughtsmen in the shape of men's

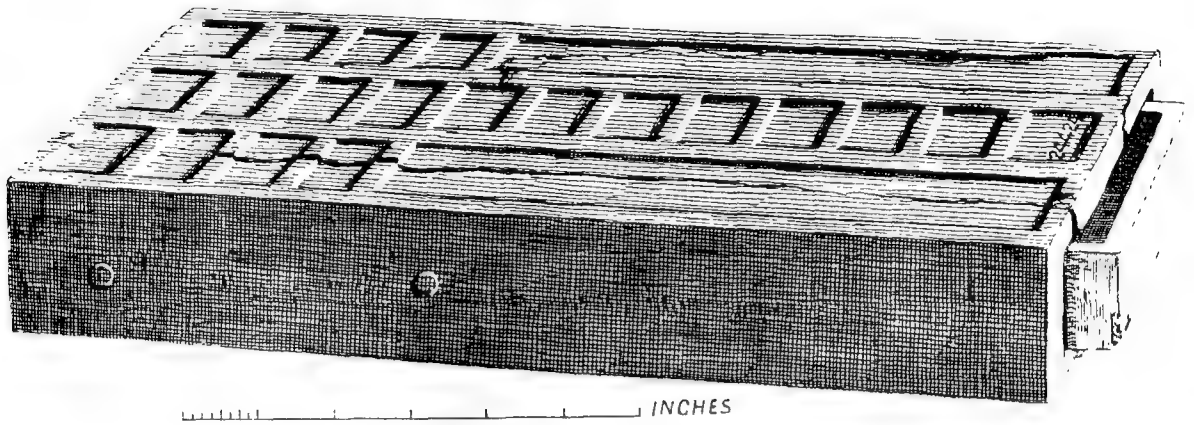


FIG. 1.—EGYPTIAN DRAUGHT-BOARD.

heads found in the tomb of Queen Hatesu and another Egyptian board (fig. 1) a set of men in the form of dogs' heads (figs. 2, 3, 4). They were procured in Cairo some years ago, and belong to the latest Egyptian period, and would be thus contemporary with classical Greek times, as I am told by



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

Dr. Budge, who thinks they represent jackals, imitating the jackal-headed god Anubis; whether they are jackals or dogs makes no difference in our case for the Greeks called Anubis *κύων*, as we know from Plato, *Gorgias*, 482. *μὰ τὸν κύνα, τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν.*

By the kindness of my friend Dr. A. S. Murray I am also able to give



(fig. 5) the top of the magnificent carved ivory draught-board which is among the many splendid objects obtained by the British Museum in the recent excavations at Enkomi in Cyprus. The ivory was discovered in a very critical condition but was saved from ruin by the patience and resource of Mr. P. Christian.

Now let us return to the *Republic*. In the pages immediately preceding our passage Plato has been dealing with the citizens of his ideal state: and from 416 onwards has been comparing them, as every one knows, to *κύνες*. He has, in his own mind, been playing the game of *πόλις*; he has called his citizens by the name of the pieces in the game, and finally ends up with the customary word play of *πάμπολλαι πόλεις ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις*.

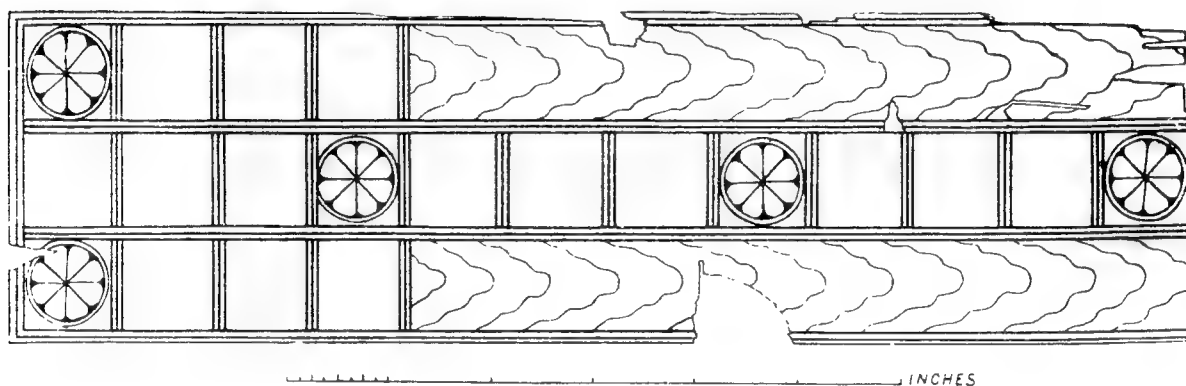


FIG. 5.—IVORY DRAUGHT-BOARD FROM ENKOMI.

I do not attempt any discussion here of the method of playing the game of Polis, as that is irrelevant to the direct object of this note, but I may point out that the board was probably divided into squares, like that of Queen Hatesu, and our modern draughtboard. The object of each player was evidently to get his men into a solid arrangement, so that none of his pieces should be isolated and liable to be captured by being cut off between two of the enemy's pieces (*περιλήψει δύο ψήφων ὁμοχρόων τὴν ἑτερόχρων ἀνελεῖν*). It was possibly a common joke between players to talk of the small squares of the checkboard as *πόλεις*, if an opponent had a number of his pieces isolated on squares away from his real *πόλις*, meaning that he had plenty of little cities which were defenceless, but not the real solid array of men, which was technically the true 'city.'<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sandys is probably right in thinking that Aristotle (*Pol.* I. 2. 10) when he compares

*ὁ ἀπολις* to the *ἄζυξ ἐν πετροῖς* is alluding to the game of *πόλις*.

## EXCAVATIONS AT ABÆE AND HYAMPOLIS IN PHOCIS.

## [PLATE XIV.]

THE excavations, the results of which are described in the following paper, were conducted in the spring of 1894 by the British School at Athens. The work was under the charge of Mr. A. G. Bather and myself; Mr Ernest Gardner, then director of the School, was also present during a portion of it. I have thought it better to give first a history of the two towns, as known from literature and the evidence of inscriptions, and then to describe the sites, and the discoveries which are the result of our work. The unpublished inscriptions which we dug up or copied on or near the sites are collected in an appendix, and we give (Pl. XIV.) a sketch map of the district. A plan of the gate and a plan of the *τέμενος* at Abæe also accompany the paper. These plans and map are the work of Mr. F. W. Green, who is an expert in such matters, and undertook to do the work for me from general directions which I gave him about the sites. I had originally made rough plans myself, which were incomplete and unsatisfactory in many ways, owing to the bad weather which prevailed during our stay at Abæe and greatly curtailed the working-time at our disposal on the spot. These plans of mine were lost while I was travelling in Asia Minor, and Mr. Green, who was with me in Asia Minor and was returning home via Greece, kindly volunteered for the task.

## ABÆE.

Abæe,<sup>1</sup> like many other cities of Greece, is said by Pausanias to have had an eponymous founder, namely Abas, son of Lynceus and Hypermnestra. An oracle of Apollo must have been established there in very early times, and seems to have been in equal repute with those of Apollo at Delphi and at Branchidae, that of Zeus Ammon in Libya, and those of Amphiaræus at Oropus and Trophonius at Lebadea, for to each of these envoys were sent by Croesus.<sup>2</sup> It was rich in treasures according to Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> and adorned with many offerings. Among the latter was the offering of *μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες* made by the Phocians after their victory over the Thessalians, one half of

<sup>1</sup> Paus. x. 35.<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 1, 46.<sup>3</sup> vii. 33.

which was given to Apollo of Delphi, the other to Apollo of Abæ.<sup>1</sup> The importance of the oracle is vouched for in a passage of Sophocles<sup>2</sup> where the chorus speak of the oracle of Abæ side by side with that of Delphi and that of Olympia.

In the invasion of Xerxes, Abæe shared the fate of many cities of Phocis; it was taken by the Persians and the *ἱερόν* was burnt. But the oracle did not lose its sanctity; we know that after the battle of Salamis when Mys was sent by Mardonius to consult the oracles, Abæe was one among the number.<sup>3</sup>

The temple does not seem to have been rebuilt, but to have remained in much the same condition as when left by the Persians. As in the case of the temple of Haliartus and the temple of Demeter at Phalerum, it was thought better that this temple should remain as it was, to be a lasting memorial of Persian impiety.

In the fourth century some value must have still been attached to the answers of the oracle, for we are told by Pausanias that Abæe was one of the many oracles consulted by the Thebans before the battle of Leuctra.<sup>4</sup> In the Sacred War the *ἱερόν* was again burnt. The accounts of how this happened vary. According to Pausanias,<sup>5</sup> it was due to the deliberate action of the Thebans, according to Diodorus<sup>6</sup> to an accident. Even after the second burning very little if anything was done to restore the temple, so that in Pausanias' time it was the weakest of all buildings which have suffered from fire.<sup>7</sup>

The Abæeans are said to have taken no part themselves in the Sacred War, or in the impiety perpetrated at Delphi, and at the end of the war, to which Philip put an end by destroying all the cities of Phocis, Abæe alone was spared.<sup>8</sup>

During the subjection of Greece to Macedonian rule one fact has come down to us with regard to Abæe. In an inscription found at *Καθηπόλι*,<sup>9</sup> a village near the ancient site, we learn that, on an application made to a king Philip, most probably Philip V, by the people of Abæe (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀβαίων), the freedom from tribute (*ἀτέλεια*), which they had at some previous time enjoyed but now apparently had lost, was granted again to them. The reason for this exemption would naturally be the sacredness of their city and shrine.

Similar consideration seems to have been shown to the Abæeans by the Romans; we are told that in contrast to the action of the Persians, the Romans granted autonomy to the Abæeans, and the last fact that we learn with regard to the place is that the Emperor Hadrian built a small temple beside the old one. That he possibly also did something towards restoring the old temple, I hope to indicate below.

Of the constitution of the temple and oracle unfortunately nothing is

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. viii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *O. C.* 900.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. viii. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. iv. 32. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. x. 35.

<sup>6</sup> vi. 58.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. x. 3, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Bulletin Corr. Hell.* vi. 171.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. x. 35.

known, but in an inscription found at Myx or *Smici*<sup>1</sup> quite close to the temple site, sacred lands of Apollo and Artemis are mentioned some of which may possibly have belonged to the temple of Abæe.

#### HYAMPOLIS.

Of the history of Hyampolis, as distinct from the other towns of Phocis, very little is known. Its situation in an important pass made it at all times liable to attack and several engagements took place in the neighbourhood of the town.

According to Pausanias<sup>2</sup> and Strabo,<sup>3</sup> Hyampolis was founded by the Hyantes after they were expelled from Boeotia by the Cadmeans, the Hyantes being as Pliny<sup>4</sup> tells us the old name for the Boeotians, and the town is mentioned in the catalogue of Homer.<sup>5</sup> Before the Persian wars a famous conflict took place in the pass of Hyampolis between the Phocians and Thessalians, in which the Phocians resorted to the device of burying and covering up large jars for the entanglement of the Thessalian cavalry. The town was among those taken by the Persians under Xerxes on their march through Phocis and was burned by them.

In the fourth century the town suffered some losses at the hand of Jason of Pheræ on his return through Phocis after the battle of Leuctra. The *προαστεῖον* was taken, the country devastated and many of the inhabitants killed. In B.C. 347 a battle between the Boeotians and Phocians took place near the town.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the Sacred War the town was taken and the walls razed to the ground by Philip, and probably the inhabitants, like the rest of the Phocians, reduced to living in villages.<sup>7</sup> That the town afterwards recovered from this harsh treatment is thought probable by Pausanias, who found a council-chamber and market-place of ancient construction there.

In Roman times the town was again taken by L. Quinctius Flaminius<sup>8</sup> and subsequently the Emperor Hadrian built a stoa here which bore his name. Whether he visited this town and Abæe in person or not is uncertain.<sup>9</sup>

The chief divinity worshipped at Hyampolis was Artemis, and the feast of Elaphebolia celebrated here in her honour is mentioned twice by Plutarch.<sup>10</sup> It is said by him to have commemorated the resolution taken by the Phocian women to destroy themselves and their children rather than fall into the hands of the Thessalians, with whom a battle was at that time impending. He also says that it was the chief feast of the place. This feast is mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin Corr. Hell.* xviii. p. 53 ff. no. 9.

<sup>2</sup> x. 35, 6.

<sup>3</sup> i. c. 421.

<sup>4</sup> *Nat. Hist.* iv. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* ii. 521.

<sup>6</sup> *Diod.* xvi. 56.

<sup>7</sup> *Paus.* *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Livy* xxxii. 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Épave des Kaisers. Hadrian.* Durr. p.

57, n. That other emperors conferred benefits on the town after Hadrian's time may be inferred from two of our inscriptions (nos. 2, and 4), in which the erection of statues in honour of two emperors, one of them Septimius Severus, is probably recorded.

<sup>10</sup> *Plutarch de Virt. Mul.* 244 E. *Quest. Symp.* iv. 1, 660 E.

in an inscription which we copied on the site (No. 5). Another feast connected with Hyampolis is probably mentioned in another inscription<sup>1</sup> to which reference has already been made, and was called the Boubastia, or according to Mr. Bather's copy of the same Bourastia. Sacred lands belonging to Artemis are mentioned in this same inscription and certain beasts, according to Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> were the property of the goddess.

The worship of Serapis, Isis and Anubis seems also to have flourished in later times at Hyampolis. Three inscriptions<sup>3</sup> have been found in the neighbourhood, testifying to this. In one of these it is recorded that Krimolaus, son of Xenopeithes,<sup>4</sup> built a stoa, a propylon and houses in honour of these divinities. The worship of the Emperors was also practised, for in one of the inscriptions, above mentioned, the Emperor Trajan is invoked at the same time as Serapis and Isis, and games called the *μεγάλα καισαρῆα* occur in one of our inscriptions (No. 5).

#### *Site of Abæe.*

The remains of Abæe, which were first identified by Colonel Leake,<sup>5</sup> exist in two places. Those of the town are on a peaked hill which rises to a height of about 500 feet, on the edge of a small and marshy but fertile plain, at a distance of about one and a half miles in a westerly direction from the modern village of *Ἐνάρχη*. Those of the temple of Apollo are on a low spur which runs out from the hills northwards into the plain. The plain, in extent about two miles long by three-quarters of a mile broad, is drained by one of the tributaries of the Cephissus, and communicates on the west with the valley in which Hyampolis is situated, commanding the pass from the country of the Opuntian and Epienemidian Locrians into Phocis and Boeotia.

We will first deal with the remains of the town. The hill of Abæe lies to the left, as Pausanias says of the road from Orchomenus to Opus. This road most probably answers to the modern path from *Σκρίπου* (Orchomenus) to *Ἀτάλυντε*, which passes close to *Ἐνάρχη*, and turning westward down the valley skirts the hills, leaving Abæe a little to the left.<sup>6</sup> On the east side the hill is very abrupt and completely inaccessible, on the north side very steep, while on the south and west sides the slopes are easy. It is on these, the south and west sides, that the walls of the acropolis are mainly built. The defences consist of an outer and inner wall, which are never much more than 100 yards apart and converge so as to meet on the north, and so as nearly to do so on the south-east side. Where they meet on the north side two lines of prolongation can be traced. 1) a line of wall continued along a rocky spur

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xviii. p. 53. ff. no. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Paus. loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell. loc. cit.* Nos. 1 and 2 and *B.C.H.* v. p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> The name of this same Krimolaus, son of Xenopeithes, may probably be restored in another inscription, Woblington and Le Bas, *Grec. and*

*Latin Inscriptions*, ii. 818, said to have been copied at Hyampolis. -os *Ξενοπέθεος* is all that is left of the name, but there is room for four, if not five letters, judging from the length of the preceding lines.

<sup>5</sup> Leake, *North Greece*, ii. p. 163 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Leake, *op. cit.* ii. p. 167.

into the plain, (2) a line of wall running round the top until the steep point is reached where it ceases. Where the walls converge on the south-east side the side of the hill is sheer and perpendicular for 20 or 30 feet, but below this a prolongation of the wall can be traced down to the level of the plain where it is lost in the arable ground. This wall curves considerably towards the other line of prolongation on the north side along the rocky spurs, and in all probability these two walls were produced so as to meet and form another enclosure on the eastern slopes of the hill. This is indicated by the dotted line on the plan.

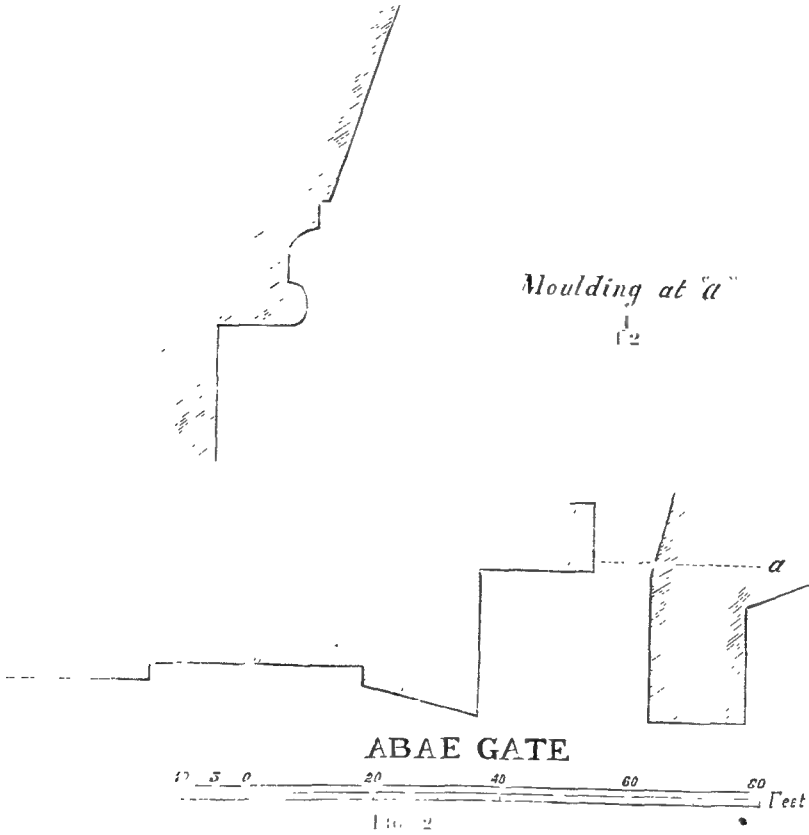


FIG. 1.

Inside this conjectural line of wall on the east slope of the hill there are numerous ruins of ancient buildings, and here it seems probable that the town lay. Of the agora and theatre mentioned by Pausanias, we could find no distinct traces. If we are right in supposing this conjectural wall outside the town to have existed, the inhabitants had two lines of defence, this wall and the walls of the acropolis, which with the help of the natural features of the hill form a citadel independent of the outer line.

The walls are far better preserved on the top of the hill than below. They are polygonal in construction, and no distinct difference of date can be traced in them, though the lower and outer wall is furnished with flanking projections which are absent in the upper. The blocks, which are of limestone from the hill, are in each wall large and fairly carefully fitted, any intervals

between the joints being filled up with small stones. The walls are faced with large stones both inside and outside, the core being formed of rubble and smaller stones. The height preserved varies from 3 to 10 feet, and the width is between 6 and 7½ feet. The date of the walls from the style of construction would seem to be the fifth century or earlier, though it is possible that some part of them, especially the lower town walls, were built later in the same style.



In the outer wall of the acropolis there is a gate which from its good state of preservation deserves some notice. It was observed and described by Colonel Leake. The gate is at the south end of the lower acropolis wall. The stone lintel is still in position and is supported on each side by jambs, the upper courses of which slope towards one another above a simple moulding.<sup>1</sup> The gate is placed in a recess from the line of the wall, with a tower on the enemies' right or unshielded side. A view of the gate from the outside is given in Fig. 1, a ground plan, and section of the moulding in Fig. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 2.

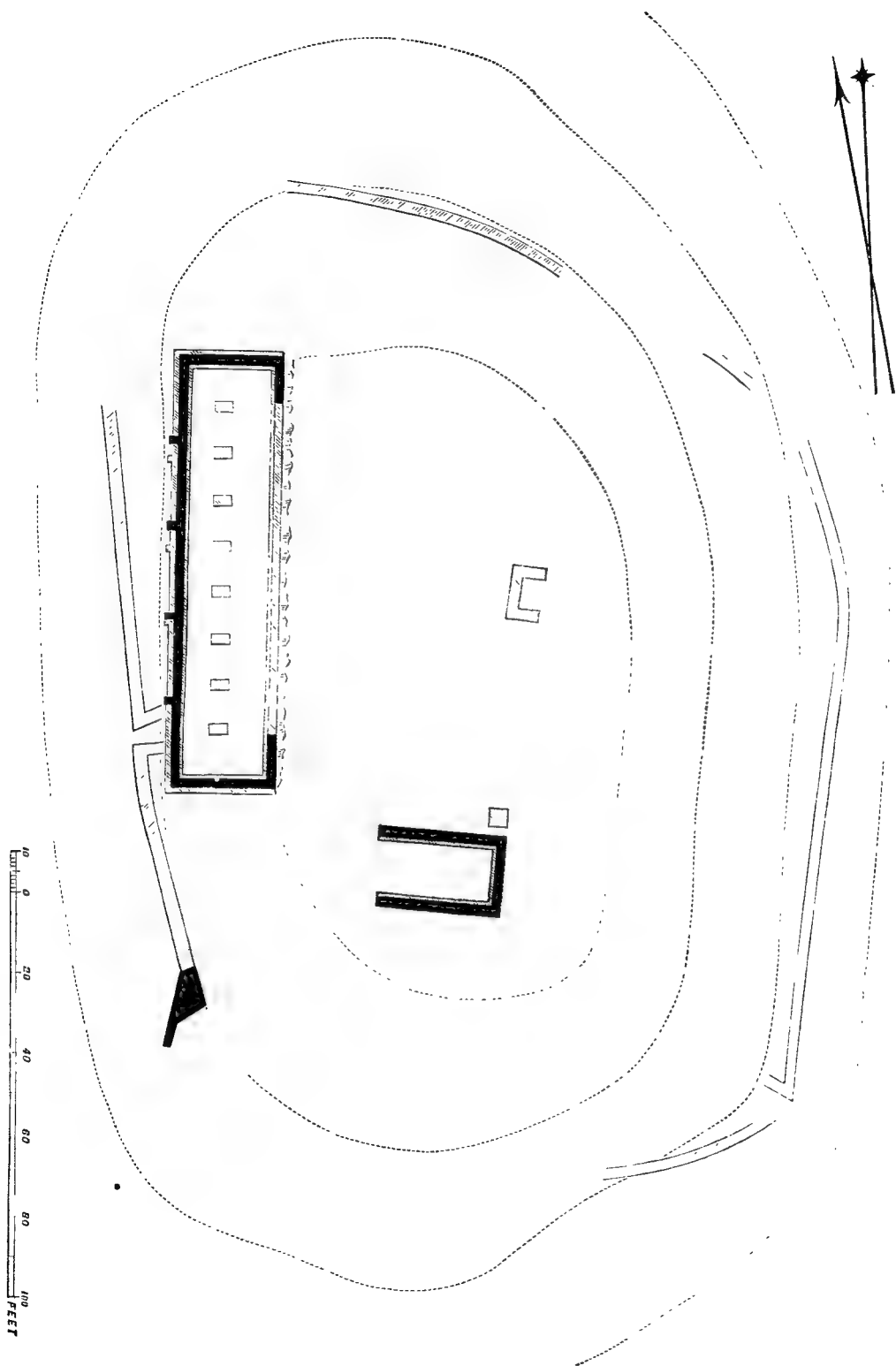



FIG. 3. —PLAN OF TEMPLE-SITE.



The other ruins outside these walls were identified by Colonel Leake with the temple of Apollo, from a passage in Diodorus,<sup>1</sup> in which it appears that the shrine was not in the town but near it. On the strength of this identification, and in the hopes that some of the ancient offerings mentioned by Herodotus might have served as foundations for later buildings, and so have been preserved, as was the case on the acropolis at Athens, we set to work to thoroughly clear the site. This was accomplished after a fortnight's work much interrupted by bad weather.

The result of this work was the discovery of a small *τέμενος* the plan of which is shown in Fig. 3. That the site excavated was sacred to some divinity is shown by the discovery, during the excavations, of several tiles inscribed *ΙΕΡΑ* probably belonging to the stoa to be described below, that this divinity may have been Apollo is shewn by the inscription (No 1) in which the letters *-αβδλωι* (perhaps = *ἐκ]αβδλω*) occur.

Within the *τέμενος* the foundations of three buildings were laid bare, two of which from their form and orientation are most probably temples, the third evidently a stoa. It will be best, before discussing the age of these remains and the purposes which they served, to describe them briefly.

The polygonal wall (hatched  in the plan) forming the enclosure of the *τέμενος* runs round the upper slopes of a low hill and seems to have been roughly oval in shape. It is broken by two gates, one on the west, the other on the southeast side, and at each of these the wall is made to return. A third gate seems to have been constructed in later times, a short distance to the south of the gate on the west side, probably contemporaneously with the construction of the stoa which blocked up the old gate on this side. Judging from its primitive construction, it would seem evident that this wall formed the original enclosure of the old temple.

Of the three buildings within the enclosure, two appear to be temples. The largest of these is an oblong building only three sides of which have been preserved, the west wall (the existence of which formerly there is no reason to doubt) having been completely obliterated. The orientation of the two long sides is by the prismatic compass  $284\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .

Two courses of the foundations remain, the blocks of the upper course measuring uniformly 3 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. Above these in the north wall one block of the course of orthostatae remains in situ, measuring 3 ft. by 4 ft. 1 in. The material of each course is a light coloured poros stone weathering almost white. The plan would seem to be that of a temple *in antis*, though no trace is preserved of columns at the east end.

The second and smaller temple is an oblong three sided building, of which the orientation is  $291\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The only remains are one course of foundations composed of four blocks on the west side, and two on the north and south sides respectively. The material is the same poros as that used in the

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Beside this building at the north-east corner is a square block of poros in situ (shown on plan) perhaps the foundation of a basis.

construction of the other temple. The plan seems to be that of a three-sided cella open to the east.

The third building, evidently a stoa, has long oblong foundations running north and south. The east and west walls are orientated  $280\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ . The material is the same as that used in the other two buildings. The west wall is fairly well preserved rising in places to a height of four courses from the ground. It is constructed with long blocks running in even courses, and is supported at intervals of about 20 feet by buttresses to prevent it from



FIG. 4.

slipping down the hill. At the south-west and north-west corners this wall returns up the hill, the courses diminishing in number as the ground rises. On the east side of the building the rock is cut back to receive the foundation of the east wall. Two courses are continued for a short distance round the south-east and north-east corners, where they cease, the remainder of the foundation on this side consisting of one course only. Within these lines a row of blocks is preserved at fairly regular intervals running parallel to the line of foundation on the east side. These are evidently foundations for columns to support the roof of the building. From

these remains we can re-construct the general plan of the building. It seems to have been a stoa open to the east, the roof of which was supported by a double row of columns, one of which rested on the row of blocks mentioned above, the other on the line of foundation on the east side.

Very few architectural remains, besides these foundations and walls, were discovered on the site. A few fragments of columns of the same stone as the foundations were found near the stoa, shewing that these were of stone and not of wood, and the points of a gabled roof of stone were found at each corner of the building. Besides these numerous terra-cotta antefixes were found mostly inside or near the stoa. The antefixes were of two kinds. The one is of simple design and very similar in form to the antefixes of the Parthenon, the other<sup>1</sup> is very complicated in design and seems to be a development of the patterns on the antefixes of the Erechtheum (v. Inwood *Erechtheum* Pl. XXVIII.) Both sorts were found indiscriminately all over the site, but the greater part were in or about the stoa. Possibly they may both belong to that building. The antefix given in Fig. 4 shows very sharp and delicate execution and on grounds of style might well be placed in the 4th century B.C.

A lion's head in terra-cotta of fine style, destined to serve as a water-spout, was also found inside the stoa, and is shown in Fig. 5. It bears traces of having been richly painted in red, yellow, black and purple. As a work of art this lion's head is distinctly superior to the lions' heads used as architectural ornaments in the Mausoleum (*c.* Newton, *Discoecias*, Pl. XXX.) to which it bears in some ways considerable resemblance, and I should again be inclined on grounds of style to date it as early as the fourth century B.C.

With reference to the identification of these buildings we must have recourse to the statements of Pausanias.<sup>2</sup> He makes no mention of any stoa, but only speaks of two buildings, both temples, side by side; the larger of the two he says, is the original temple, the smaller the work of Hadrian. In the larger of the two buildings which we found there is nothing incompatible with an early date, the work is simple and rough and the building is on a small scale, as we should expect to find in a temple dating from pre-Persian times. So that we may conclude that this building is the old temple of Apollo.

The only other indication with regard to it is given by an inscription which we dug up at the east end of the building (No. 1). From the position in which we found it this inscription may very well have formed part of the architrave of the temple. In this inscription we have record of restoration most probably carried out by an Emperor. Whether this was Hadrian or not it is impossible to say with any certainty, but as we know that he built a small temple on the spot it is quite possible that he also did something towards the restoring of the old temple, even though this did not attract the attention of Pausanias. The smaller of the two temples in position and size

<sup>1</sup> Shown in Fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> x. 35.

corresponds to the temple described by Pausanias and attributed by him to Hadrian. Its extreme minuteness may be explained from the smallness of the scale of the whole site. Another temple of any size would have dwarfed the older building.

The third building, the stoa, from the evidence of the antefixes and lion's head would seem to belong to the fourth century B.C. It may possibly have been put up after the burning of the *ἱερόν* by the Boeotians in the Sacred War. Perhaps in Pausanias' time it had already fallen into disrepair, and in consequence was not noticed by him.



FIG. 5.

In addition to the buildings described above not many antiquities were found on the site. The most important are a series of bronze bowls. These consist of (1) fragments of 'phialae' with delicate *repoussé* ornament, apparently Greek developments from Phoenician work, (2) fragments of thin bronze ornamental plates of the same type with elaborate floral decoration, (3) fragments of the '*flechtband*' from the rims of decorative shields, (4) a few remains of Roman bronze work. All these are in pitiable condition and incapable of perfect restoration. They were found for the most part close to

the old temenos wall and it seems probable that the three earlier classes date from a period before the Persian destruction, the types of *patera* and '*flucht-bowl*' belonging to the earlier layers both on the Acropolis at Athens and at Olympia.

In some ways they are the most interesting of the discoveries which we made at Abæe, inasmuch as they probably date back to pre-Persian times, and are the only definite relics of the old prosperity of the oracle which we found.

A few terra-cottas, mostly heads, both male and female, and one ithyphallic figure also came to light. Sculpture is represented on the site only by a few fragments of statues, such as arms, legs and feet, which, as far as can be judged on grounds of style, are of the Græco-Roman period. Besides the inscription (No. 1) and the inscribed tile mentioned above, only four inscriptions were found, three of which are potsherds and one a brick, and all unfortunately of no importance.

The only remaining discovery of any importance was that of sixty-one silver coins which were all lying together close to the foundations of the west wall of stoa. It may be worth while to place on record what coins these were. The following is the list:—

Sicyon . . . . .	26	Opus . . . . .	3
Chalcis . . . . .	8	Elis . . . . .	2
Thebes . . . . .	7	Aegina . . . . .	2
Alexander . . . . .	4	Argos . . . . .	1
Phocis . . . . .	3	Aetolian League . . .	1
Arcadia . . . . .	3	Philip . . . . .	1

The coins range in date from the sixth century to which one coin of Aegina must belong down to the time of Alexander and the Aetolian League. One interesting fact which must have struck all travellers in Greece is brought out, that is, the extraordinary predominance in number of the coins of Sicyon.

#### *Graves.*


Another class of remains at Abæe is formed by the graves which exist in great numbers along the slopes of the hill westwards from the temple-site as shown in Pl. XIV., and for years have been a hunting-ground to the peasants in search of antiquities. A few of these we excavated and found full of objects of little archaeological value. A great quantity of rude black-figured pottery ornamented with palmettes exists in the tombs and terra-cotta figures of men and animals are frequently found. It may be of interest to give a list of the objects found by us in one of these tombs. The objects are remarkable both in respect of quantity and variety. They consist of 11 pigeons, 9 cocks, 1 horse, 1 pig, 1 sphinx, 2 double sitting figures, 2 upright female figures, 1 sitting female figure in *terra-cotta*, 1 bronze strigil, 1 iron strigil; and in

earthenware, 15 fairly complete cups of undefined shape, two *monochrome* two *kykthi*, 1 plate, and numerous fragments of other broken vessels.

The objects would seem from their style to belong to the fourth century B.C., or a little later.

*Site of Hyampolis.*

With regard to the site of Hyampolis first identified by Colonel Leake<sup>1</sup> there can be no doubt. According to Pausanias it lay beyond Abæe on the road from Orchomenus to Opus. Just about a mile from Abæe, in the direction which this road must have followed, a low hill, about 100 feet in height, rises from the valley, which is still called *Hyámboli* by the peasants of the district. On this hill considerable remains of a circuit of walls still exist which doubtless formed the defences of the acropolis of Hyampolis.<sup>2</sup>

These walls, which are about three-quarters of a mile in extent, are built in regular courses of squared stones, and from the style of construction seem to date from the fifth or fourth century B.C. They are best preserved at the north and north-east corners, where they still rise to a height of 15 feet or more above the level of the ground. Hence it seems probable that if the walls were levelled when the town was taken by Philip, they were afterwards rebuilt. There is a gate in the walls near the north corner and three square towers at different points, one of them close to the gates. Inside these walls the ground is fairly level and numerous remains of a Byzantine or mediæval village are visible. Nearly in the centre of the enclosure there are remains of a large cistern with coping of large squared blocks bound together with  clamps. This is probably the well alluded to by Pausanias as being the one well used by the Hyampolitans for all purposes.

Across the top of the hill within the walls we dug several trenches without coming on any distinct traces of any Greek building, the only definite discovery being that of a square foundation for a basis of an honorary statue or statues, near which we found portions of an inscription (No. 2) bearing on the same.

Numerous fragments of mouldings all apparently destined to support similar statues also came to light. Some of these bear inscriptions, the only one of any importance being the signature of a member of the well-known family of artists bearing the names of Eubulides and Eucheir.<sup>3</sup> From the characters of the inscriptions and the nature of their contents it may be inferred that these mouldings were the ordinary form of decoration for bases at Hyampolis both in Greek and Graeco-Roman times.

Outside the walls on the south side we also sank trenches and came upon a building, most probably a stoa of Graeco-Roman date, which may possibly be the stoa mentioned by Pausanias as having been built by Hadrian.

<sup>1</sup> *North. Greece*, ii. p. 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Within these walls we found two inscriptions in which the letters **YAM** occur (nos. 2 and 6).

<sup>3</sup> No. 3.

As, however, this building seemed to be of considerable extent and hidden by some depth of earth, we did not completely clear it, thinking that it would be not worth time or money to do so. In the neighbourhood of this building there are some faint remains on the side of the hill which may possibly be part of the theatre, said by Pausanias to have been not far from the gates, but it is extremely doubtful whether they would repay the trouble of excavation.

### *Myx.*

At Myx or *Smixi*, near a large spring on the road from *Atalante* to *Lecadea*, and a short distance from Hyampolis and Abæ, there are considerable remains of antiquity in and about a ruined church. Several inscriptions<sup>1</sup> have been copied here and published. Whether these inscriptions have been brought here, to be used as tombstones and in the construction of the church, or belong to the spot cannot be definitely decided. We devoted a few hours to excavation on the site and laid bare some foundations of walls of late Greek or Roman date, inside an outer *περίβολος* wall, without being able to find out definitely on what plan they are laid out.

It is possible that this may be the site of the temple of Artemis of Hyampolis. Pausanias does not say that this temple was within the walls, and as in the case of the neighbouring temple of Abæ it may very well have been placed at some little distance without. Moreover, two inscriptions<sup>2</sup> found at Myx make mention of Artemis.

It cannot be said that the history of Abæ or Hyampolis, as already known from literary sources, has been largely supplemented by the results of the excavations undertaken on these sites. It is satisfactory to have recovered the plan of the old *τέμενος* and temple of Apollo at Abæ, but unfortunately the products of Greek archaic art which must have been offered in profusion at this shrine at the time of its early prosperity have vanished. It was hoped that as at Athens, so at Abæ, works of art damaged by the Persians might have been used afterwards in levelling up the ground, or as foundations for later buildings, and so have been preserved. But if we except the bronze bowls no specimens of archaic art were given up by the soil, and there is but little hope that any still exist in the neighbourhood of the temple. The only other discovery of any importance is that of a new signature of a member of the family of artists who bore the names of Eubulides and Eucheir.

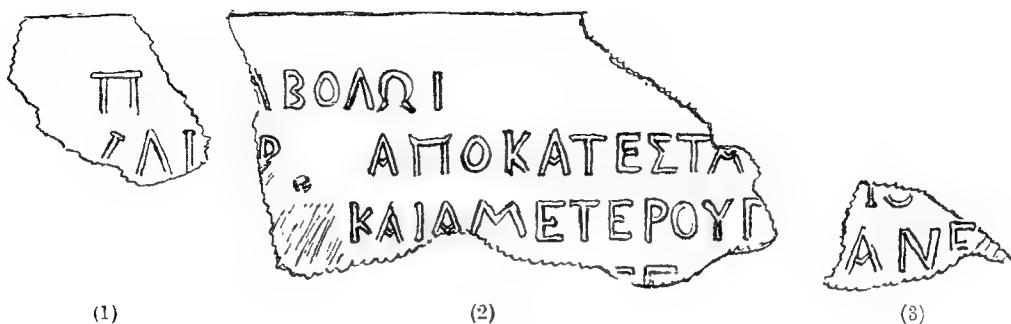
## II. INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 1.—Three fragments of Pentelic marble, belonging probably to the same inscription found on the temple site at Abæ. Nos. (1) and (2) were turned up at the north-east corner of the larger temple (c. p. 298), No. (3) at

<sup>1</sup> *B.C.H.* v. 449. *B.C.H.*  
Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *B.C.H.* v. p. 449, xviii. p. 53 f. No. 9.

the west end. The fragments may possibly be portions of the architrave of the temple. Nos. (1) and (2) show finished corners above the letters, and possibly preserve the first line of the inscription. Fragment (1) is so small that it is impossible to assert positively that it belongs to (2), and the same may be said of (3).



The inscription presents considerable difficulties. It is apparently a restoration of an offering to a deity whose identity is indicated within narrow limits by the letters ΒΟΛΩΙ. These letters admit of two restorations, either ἐλαφ]αβόλω or ἐκ]αβόλω, the former being an epithet of Artemis, the latter of Artemis and Apollo. Though the former has local sanction, the latter is the commoner of the two titles, and, if the proximity of Abæ to the spot where it was found is considered, perhaps the more probable, as it admits of the restoration of the dedication as belonging to Apollo. In line two of Fragment (2) we have remains of a letter either Ρ or Β, but Β cannot be the end of a word (unless it is a numeral ΤΟ Β, which would be out of place before the verb), and we must decide in favour of Ρ. This letter suggests either καὶ-σα]ρ or σωτή]ρ for the word preceding ἀποκατέστα[. If Fragment (1) belongs to the inscription, Π must be the first letter of a word, as there is a considerable blank space in front of it.

Three restorations seem possible :

Fragments (1) and (2),

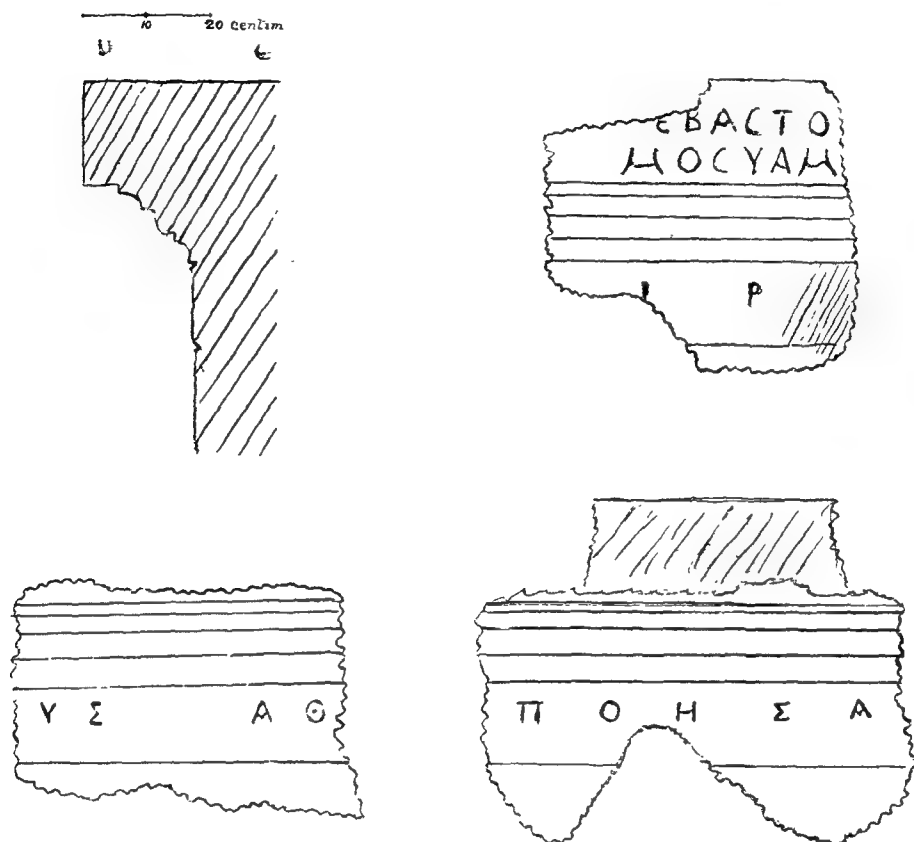
- (a) ἡ] π[όλις Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐκ]αβόλω  
 . . . . . ] Καὶ[σαρ (Ἀδρίανος) Σωτή]ρ ἀποκατέστα[σε  
 . . . . . καὶ ἀμετέρου γ[ένους εὐεργέτας
- b) Π[υθίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐκ]αβόλω κ.τ.λ.
- c) Π[αρθένῳ Ἀρτάμιτι Ἐλαφ]αβόλω κ.τ.λ.

Without Fragment (1),

Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐκ]αβόλω κ.τ.λ.  
 or Ἀρτάμιτι Ἐλαφ]αβόλω.



No. 2.—Fragments of a basis excavated within the walls of Hyampolis. The material is Hymettian marble. Traces of two foot-marks above ΠΟΗΣΑ.



..... Σ[εβαστὸν] ..... δῆ]  
 -μος Ἰαμ[πολιτῶν] .....  
 (ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα καὶ) ..... ] ιρ [... ' ..... ] υς Ἀθ[ηναῖοι ἐ]πόησα[ν]

We have on the lower part of the stone the signature of probably two artists, but too little is left of the inscription to admit of their identification: IP is perhaps part of the name of the one and ΥΞ the end of the name of the other. The letters ΑΘ seem to point to their being Athenians. The character of the letters and the form ἐπόησαν (*c.* Loewy, *Inscr. Græch. Bibli.* p. xiv) would seem to admit of the date of the inscription being as early as the second or third century B.C. The upper inscription, judging from the forms of the letters Ε and Μ, may be said to belong to late Imperial times, and to record the erection of a statue of an emperor on the old basis. For such additions we may compare the basis of Leochares and Sthenis (Loewy, *op. cit.* No. 82), on which the statues of several emperors were placed.

No. 3.—On a block of Hymettian marble, evidently part of a basis, of which the corner is preserved to the left, built into a well-head on the acropolis of Hyampolis.



..... [ἡ πόλις τῶν Ῥαμ-  
-πολιτῶ]ν ἀρε(τ)ᾶ[ς ἔ]ν[εκεν καὶ εὐν-  
-οίας] (τ)ᾶς ἐν αὐτὰν.  
Εὐβουλίδης Εὐχείρος Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν.

The upper part of the inscription is much defaced and weather-worn, and the only letters that are certain are *εν αυ αν*, so that in the restoration I have not adhered very faithfully to the letters. For this formula, and the use of *ἐν* for *εἰς* in this district, compare Collitz (*Sammlung Griech. Dialekt. Inschrift.*), i. 504 (from Orchomenos), and Le Bas (*Gr. and Lat. Inschrift.*) ii. 818. In the latter, which was found at Hyampolis, the formula is ἀρετᾶς [ἔνεκεν] καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς. The name of the person in whose honour the statue was put up may perhaps be (Ι)άσωνα.

The sculptor mentioned below is doubtless one of the family of artists bearing alternately the names of Eubulides and Eucheir (Paus. i. 2, 4, viii. 14, 10; Pliny xxxiv. 88; Loewy, *Inschrift. Griech. Bildh.* Nos. 133–135, 222–229, 542–544). From these inscriptions and the literary sources Loewy has made out a genealogical tree of the family (*op. cit.* p. 166):

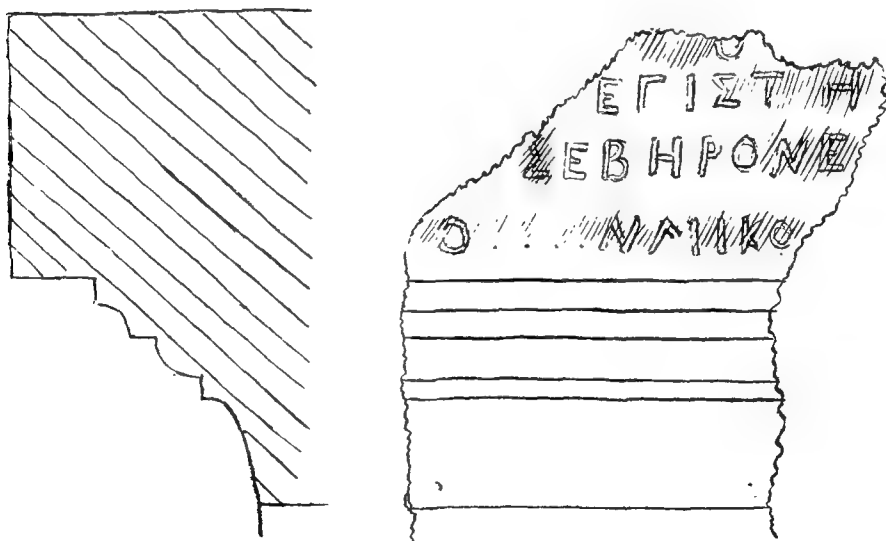
- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| (1) Eucheir   |  |
| (2) Eubulides | <i>Inscr.</i> 542–543. <i>Circ.</i> 190 B.C.   |
| (3) Eucheir   | <i>Inscr.</i> 223–227, 544. <i>Circ.</i> 170 B.C.  |
| (4) Eubulides | <i>Inscr.</i> 223–229. <i>Circ.</i> 150 B.C. (worked at first with his father, later alone). <i>Inscr.</i> 228, 228a, 229. |

The only member of the family who writes his name *Εὐβουλίδης Εὐχείρος* and whom we know to have been an artist, is No. (4), and the forms of the letters do not seem early enough for us to identify the Eubulides of 133–135 with the artist of our inscription; so that it seems probable he is the same as No. (4), who lived about 150 B.C., and worked for a time with his father. It is possible also that he is the same as No. (2), but this member of the family has not yet been proved to be an artist, though Milchhöfer has lately attributed a statue in the Louvre to him (Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*. 1894, ii. 438).

If he is the same as No. (4), he is the artist who worked and dedicated the large group in the Ceramicus (Paus. i, 2, 4; Loewy, No. 228). The basis of the work and portions of the statues have been found; Milchhöfer calls his work dull and spiritless as compared with that of his grandfather. The subjects of the other two works which he executed alone (Loewy, 228a, 229) are not known.

No. 4.—On a block of white marble lying outside the walls of Hyampolis on the south side. Broken on all sides.

5 10 15 centim.



Professor Ramsay suggests :

[Λύτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Α. Σεπτίμιον Σεβήρον Εὐσεβή  
Περτίνακα Σεβαστὸν Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν Παρθικὸν  
μ|έγιστ[ο]ν [καὶ Λύτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Ἀντω-  
-ρείνον] Σεβήρον εὐσεβή εὐτυχῇ Σεβαστὸν  
Βριτα]νικὸν μέγιστον.

No. 5.—On a block of Hymettian marble in a ruined church within the walls of Hyampolis. Moulding below similar to Nos. 4 and 5. Marks above for fixing of feet of statue.

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕ  
ΤΗΣ ΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΗΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΑ  
ΛΩΝ ΕΛΑΦΗΒΟΛΙΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΦΡΙΩΝ ΔΙΣΟΥΣ ΑΓΩΝΑΣ  
ΜΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΙΣΗΓΗΣΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΕΣΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ.

[ὁ δείνα] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀγωνοθε-  
τήσας αὐτοῦ τῶν μεγάλων καισαρήων καὶ τῶν μεγά-  
λων Ἑ(λ)αφηβολίων τε καὶ Λαφρίων δίς(σ)ους ἄγωνας  
μόνος καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο καὶ ἐτέλεσεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδί[ων].

Line 2. αὐτοῦ is best taken with πόλει, though the order is strange, meaning 'his own city.'

Line 3. The Elaphebolia and Laphria are joined together by τε and the common article, as if they together made up one feast. But this is not necessarily so; they may be merely contrasted with the *Καισαρήα*.

The feast of Elaphebolia is mentioned twice by Plutarch in connection with Hyampolis. It commemorated according to him an incident in Phocian history (p. 293), was annual, and the chief feast of the Hyampolitans.

The feast of the Laphria is otherwise unknown, but Laphria was a title of Artemis in Aetolia, whence it was conveyed to Achaea and Messenia,<sup>1</sup> and the month *Λαφρίαιος* in Aetolia and Laphria in Phocis and Doris was the same as the Attic month of Elaphebolion.<sup>2</sup> From these uses of the words it is not difficult to trace the connection of the feast with Artemis, the chief divinity of Hyampolis, and the Elaphebolia with which it is here joined.

No. 6 a.—On a small fragment of marble found within the walls of Hyampolis.

ΔΙΕΡΟΝΤΩ  
ΝΥΑΜ  
ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ  
Ν ΜΑΡΤΥ  
ΗΔΗΣ  
(ΔΡΙ

<sup>1</sup> Paus. iv. 31, 7, vii. 18, 8-13; Strabo x. 459; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 1891, vol. i. p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Wescher and Foucart, *Inscr. à Delphes*, 54, 63, 112.

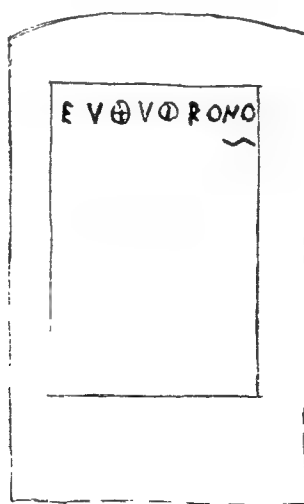
τ]ο ἱερὸν τῷ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος? τὸ ἐ]ν Ἰαμ  
 πόλει . . . .] ἀργυρίου  
 . . . . . μαρτυ-  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

This inscription seems to have reference to a sacred treasury at Hyampolis, or perhaps to a contract for repairs to a sacred building.

*b* and *c*.—Two other fragments *ibidem*.



No. 7.—Stele of rough limestone in the house of Janis Aggelopoulos at *Evatcho*. It is said to have come from a tomb at Abæe.



*Εὐθύφωρος.*

The crossed  $\theta$  and three-stroke sigma show that the inscription is early, probably dating from the first half of the fifth century. The forms of the letters do not differ from those of other early inscriptions of Phocis.

No. 8.—*Appliqué* on two fragments of a large earthenware vessel dug up on temple site at Abæe.



On each fragment the letters seem to be part of the name, probably that of the potter.

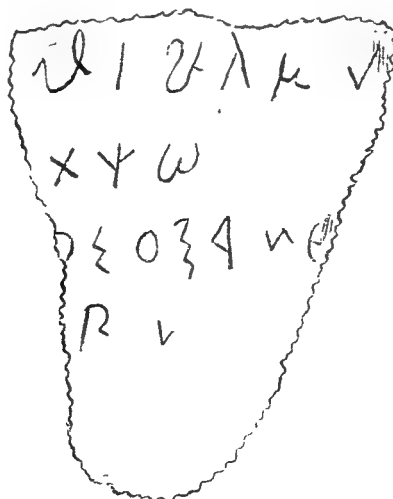
No. 9.—Scratched on a potsherd dug up on temple-site at Abæe.



Written in cursive. The forms λ and η would point to the second or first century as the date.

..... οβούλου  
τῆς πόλεως

No. 10.—Sharply incised on fragment of a brick dug up on temple-site at Abæe.



. . . . *θικλμν* . . . .  
 . . . . *χψω*  
 . . . . . *οξαδε* . . . . ?  
                   *πυ* ?

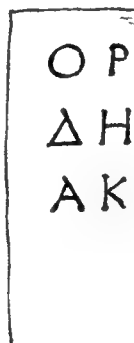
This inscription, the upper portion of which is evidently part of an abecedarium, is written in cursive of the third or fourth century A.D. In the last two lines the letters do not seem to be in regular order, and may possibly represent a word or words.

V. W. YORKE.

## EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES FROM EASTERN MACEDONIA AND THRACE.

THESE notes are a result of a short tour in the autumn of 1896 through the coastlands north of the Aegean from Xerxes' canal to the Hebrus. Professor W. C. F. Anderson of Firth College, Sheffield, accompanied me, and gave much valuable help. Of the inscriptions which we copied the following seem to be either unknown, or imperfectly published or described. If I have overlooked a previous publication of any of them, I may plead the difficulty of finding out what has or has not been edited.

1. Hierissos (Acanthus): in a wall near the Byzantine gate on the acropolis. Fragment of coarse marble block, 1 foot 11 inches high, 10 inches broad. Letters about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Published by Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, t. II., p. 151; by Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 2007k; and, the epigraphic text only, by Le Bas, No. 1414.



I believe that the right half of the stone has been cut away. If so, it is better to read *ὁρος δήμου Ἀκανθ(ίων)* with Cousinéry than *ὁρος Δήμητρος Ἀκανθίας* with Boeckh. The stone may have marked the boundary of public land.

2. Lympiada: in a wall on the beach. Rough block of granite, 3 feet 3 inches long, 1 foot 7 inches high. Letters  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 inches, irregular and much weathered.

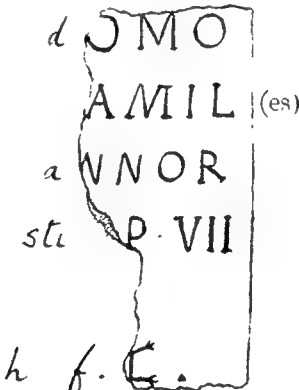



  
 ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝΚΑΛΟΣ  
 ΗΔΟΝΘΗΣ

Μελίτων καλός  
 Ἡδ(ώ)νης?

The first line is certain, the second altogether doubtful. The strange symbols seem to be merely ornamental. I do not remember to have met the *καλός* formula before on stone.

3. Yeni keui (Amphipolis): in the platform round the tree in front of the coffee-shop. Fragment of paneled marble block 1 foot high, 8 inches broad, broken above, below, and on the left. Letters  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch.



Apparently a soldier's tomb-stone

4. Yeni keui: in the coping of the south wall of the church, close under the eaves. Only the ends of the lines show. Marble slab. Letters about 1 inch, finely inscribed.

ΚΑΙΑ  
 ΡΙΤΑ  
 ΥΝΗ

Probably a tombstone. γ]υή seems obvious in line 3.

5. Yeni keui: published (1) by K. Asterios D. Gousios of Laccobekia in his little work *ἡ κατὰ τὸ Πάργαϊον χώρα*, p. 11. (2) by M. Paul Perdrizet,

Voyage dans la Macédoine première,' No. 4, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XVIII. p. 423.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀντιγένου Ἀντιγένης Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἥρωες χαίρετε.

M. Perdrizet's copy is correct. K. Gousios read Ἀντιγένους.

6, 7, 8. Yeni keui : published (1) by K. Gousios *op. cit.* pp. 11, 12 (2) more correctly by M. Perdrizet in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XIX. pp. 109, 110, from copies made in 1891 by M. Louis Couve. M. Perdrizet did not find the stones.

6. In the east wall of the church, to the left of the apse. Narrow marble block about two feet long, inscribed lengthwise. Letters about 1 inch, prettily cut.

Διότιμος Ξενοφώντο[ς]

M. Perdrizet assigns this inscription to the Hellenistic period, to me it seemed to be of the fourth century B.C.

7. *Ibid.*, to the right of the apse. Marble block 1 foot 11 inches high, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, with a defaced carving of some object above the inscription, and a winged caduceus in a panel below it. Letters  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. M. Couve's copy is correct.

M. Καικέλιος | Σώτας ὁ χαλκεὺς | ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης | θεοῖς μεγάλοις | τοῖς ἐν  
Σαμοθράκηι.

8. In the south wall of the church, at the east angle. Blue marble block. Letters 1 inch.

Λεονίδης Τειμοκλέους ἐαυτὸ καὶ τῇ γυνέκει Τατεινεῖα ζῶ[σιν].

E is sometimes round, sometimes square. K. Gousios read γυναι[κ]ει.

9. Provista : in the wall of the church. Marble block, 1 foot 8 inches long, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches high. Letters  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch, prettily cut.

ΕΚΑΤΑΙΗΚΩΡΑΒΟ

ΣΑΓΓΑΡΙΟΓΥΝΗ

Ἐκαταίη Κωράβο,  
Σαγγαρίο γυνή.

Probably the earliest inscription of Amphipolis hitherto known.

10. Provista : published incorrectly by K. Gousios *op. cit.* p. 13, and correctly by M. Perdrizet. from a copy by M. Couve, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XIX.

p. 111. The lines are of uneven lengths at the ends, but begin evenly under one another.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι | Α. Σεπτιμίῳ Σεουήρῳ | Εὐσεβεῖ  
Περτίνακι | Σεβαστῷ Ἀραβικῷ | Ἀδιαβηνικῷ Παρθικῷ | Μεγίστῳ καὶ  
Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ | Ἀντωνείνῳ Σεβαστῷ | . . . . . Σεπτιμίῳ | . . . . Καίσαρι  
ἢ Ἀμφιπολιτειῶν πόλιν.

The erasure in the tenth line is certainly Γέτα. M. Perdrizet proposes Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ Π. to fill the erasure in the ninth line, but the space will not contain so many letters. M. Couve's copy, as published, Prof. Anderson's copy, and my own copy all agree in placing the initial  $\varsigma$  of Σεπτιμίῳ vertically below the final  $\omega$  of Ἀντωνείνῳ, which leaves room for about eight letters. Moreover, it is improbable that any of Caracalla's titles would be erased. It is difficult to suggest a plausible filling, and Geta's inscriptions are too rare to give much help. Either καὶ Ποπλίῳ or καὶ Π. Α. νίῳ might stand. The former might be justified by Geta's change of praenomen, but the latter seems the more probable and fills the space better. M. Perdrizet's exact date, 201, depends on his restoration.

11. Provista: in the churchyard. Marble column, 1 foot 2 inches in diameter, broken above and below. Letters 2 inches. The ends of the lines are obliterated.

Ι ΙΥΙ Ι	Imp. [Caes.]
MAVRELI	M. Aureli[us]
ANTONINV	Antoninu[s]
PIVSFELIXAVG	Pius Felix Aug.,
PARTICVSMAXI	Parthicus Maxi[mus],
BRITTANICV	Brittanicu[s] Ma-
XIMVSGERMA	-xinus, Germa[nicus]
MAXIMVSPONT	Maximus, Pont[ifex]
MAXIMVSTRIB	Maximus, trib.[pot.]
XXIMP. IIIC	XX, Imp.[I]III, c[os. IIII]
PROCOSRES	procos., res[ti]
TVITMPVII	tuit. M.P. VII?

Incorrectly published (1) by K. Gousios *op. cit.* p. 13, (2) by M. Perdrizet, from a copy by M. Couve, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XIX. p. 111.

A milestone from the Via Egnatia. The number of the miles may be VII. or VIII. or VIII., reckoned without doubt from Amphipolis. The date indicated falls within the last months of Caracalla's reign. There are also vestiges of an obliterated Constantinian inscription on the other side of the stone.

12. Basilaki: at the door of the coffee-shop. Fragment of marble block, 2 feet 7 inches long, 1 foot 4 inches broad, broken at both ends. Letters  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

LISTAM  
VSORNAM

Cal]listam  
ornat]us ornam[entis

13. Philippi: in the substructure of the arch just north of the 'Direkler.' Fragment of marble block, 6 feet long, about 10 inches broad broken to left. Letters from 3 inches.





Ἡ]δεῖα Διον[υσίου  
 γυνή δὲ Νουμην[ίου  
 τοῦ Μητροδότου  
 . . . ]ς. ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Αἴνῳ.

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Αἴνῳ would be the Maronites resident in Aenus.

18. Maronia: in the same yard. Marble block, broken at both sides and below. Letters 1 inch.

ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΜΥ  
 ΤΙΔΑΗΚΑΙΚΟ  
 ΟΥΙΛΙΟΚΛ

Ἀττάλῳ  
 Ἐπιδαῇ καὶ  
 Σερ[ου]λίῳ

19.—Maronia: in a wall near the top of the village. Coarse marble block, broken above. Letters about 1 inch, irregular.

ΙΕΙΕΙ  
 ΟΔΗΩΟΞ

ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΔΙ  
 ΕΝΟΥΗΡΩΑ

. . . . .  
 ὁ δῆμος

Ἀρτέμων(α) Δι[ογ]-  
 -ένου ἥρωα.

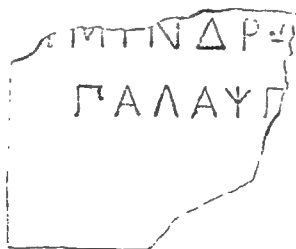
The appellation ἥρωας seems to be the commonest of sepulchral formulae at Maroneia. Compare the following inscription, and five other examples published by M. Salomon Reinach in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. and viii.

20.—Maronia: in the yard of a house. Fragment of marble block, broken to right and below. Letters 1 inch.



...  
...  
ἥως

21.—Maronia: under a stair. Fragment of marble block, broken above and to right. Letters 1 inch, neatly inscribed.



Πάλαψ [Πάλαπος ?]

22.—Maronia: built into the stair of the school. Rough marble block with smoothed panel. Letters about 2 inches, irregular.

ΣΩΣΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΔΙΟΝ

Σωσίφιλος Διον[υσίου]

23.—Maronia: in the yard in front of the school. Square marble cippus, 3 feet 3 inches high, 1 foot 8 inches broad. Letters 1½ inch, irregularly inscribed. Published by M. Salomon Reinach, 'Antiquités de Maronée et d'Abelère,' No 3, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. p. 30: see also viii. p. 50.

M. Reinach gives the first line as ΟΡΦΕΙ-ΚΑΙCΙΑN////. Both Prof. Anderson and I read it as

ΟΡΦΕΙΚΑΙCΙΑΥΣ

24.—Maronia: built into the wall of the school, to the right of the door. Block of coarse marble, 5 feet 8 inches long, 10 inches high. Letters  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch. Published by M. Salomon Reinach, 'Antiquités de Maronée et d'Abdère,' No 7, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. p. 91: see also viii. p. 50.

Αἰνετὸν ἐν βίῳ τῷ ζήσασα χρόνον Τυλλία Πρόκλα πάλαι στρατιώτου  
θυγάτηρ, στρατευομένου τε ἀδελφοῦ, κατεσκεύασα ἐμαυτῇ τὸ χαμοσό-  
-ριον πάντα, ἵς ὃ βούλομαι μέχρι μὲν ζῶ ὃν ἂν θέλω θεῖναι, μετὰ δὲ  
τὸν θάνατον μου ὃς ἂν τις τολμήσῃ τινὰ θεῖναι δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια)

πεντακόσια

καὶ τῇ πόλει (δηνάρια) πεντακόσια.

In line 3 the letters ΠΑΡΑΥΤΑΙCΟ, which M. Reinach forbore to interpret, may be resolved into *πάντα ἵς* (= *εἰς*) *ὃ*. In line 4 M. Reinach misread ΜΟΥC as ΜΟΝΟC.

25.—Maronia: in the west wall of the church on the old site. Marble altar with gable and acroteria, 1 foot 9 inches high,  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad. Letters  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 1 inch. Published by M. Salomon Reinach, 'Antiquités de Maronée et d'Abdère,' No. 17, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. p. 93, and again more completely in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* viii. p. 51.

In line 4 of his second edition either M. Reinach or his printer has inadvertently inserted an iota, making *Διούσου* into *Διονυσίου*. In this point his earlier version is correct. The *Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* is inscribed on the moulding above the panel.

26.—Maronia: 'Dans le mur de la maison de Vrionis, à côté d'un triglyphe surmonté d'un bout de corniche.' Published by M. Salomon Reinach *Bull. Corr. Hell.* viii. p. 51. Marble block, 1 foot  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 2 feet 9 inches long. Letters  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

ΤΗΜΟΥCΩΝΧΑΡΙΝ

ΦΗΦΡΕΝΙ

ΤΙΜΩΝΘΕΜΙΝ

ΤΟΝΚΡΑΤΩΝ

ΘΥΝΕΙΝΩ



. . . ]τη Μουσῶν χάριν  
σο]φῇ φρενί  
τιμῶν θέμιν  
. . . ]τον κρατῶν  
εὐ]θύνει νόφ.

M. Reinach means to imply that the inscription is on the same stone as the triglyph to the right of it. There is part of another triglyph to the left of it, also on the same stone. In fact the inscription occupies the metope between two triglyphs. M. Reinach does not expressly remark that the inscription gives the ends of five iambic lines, two metrical feet, more or less, of each. We may infer that the part lost occupied the two metopes to the left of this one, and that the inscription was written up over a portico or the entrance to some building, possibly a large tomb.

J. ARTHUR R. MUNRO.

### A GREEK GOLDSMITH'S MOULD IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

THE monument represented in the dimensions of the original by the annexed figure (Fig. 1) was acquired by Mr. Arthur Evans in Corfu, in 1895,



FIG. 1.

and is now in the Ashmolean Museum. It is a piece of bronze, irregularly oblong in shape, measuring  $4\frac{7}{8}$  in. in length by 1 to  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. in breadth, and  $\frac{3}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. in thickness. Each of the four long surfaces is decorated with a series of incised patterns separated by bands of ornament. There can be no doubt as to the destination of the object, which was evidently intended to serve as a mould for the manufacture of plaques, diadems, &c., in *repoussé*. A series of gold plaques (Figs. 2-5) have been executed from the mould by Mr. Ready, and are exhibited beside the original in the Ashmolean Museum. At the same time it may well have been used for work in other metals, such as the thin sheets of bronze used for the well-known 'Argo-Corinthian' plaques which furnish the nearest analogies to the subjects of our monument.

The interest of the mould lies partly in its technical aspect, as giving us an insight into the methods of early industrial art, and partly in the affinities of subject which enable us to link it with the various schools of early Greek production.

Technically speaking, the most remarkable feature of the mould is the close analogy which it presents to the products of the early gem-engraver and die-sinker. The instruments employed by artists of this class are

the bow and drill, the wheel, and the simple graving-tool, the last-named being adapted for work on the softer materials, such as steatite, which were so largely used in early art.<sup>1</sup> Most noteworthy is the extensive use of the drill, which is not only employed in blocking out the figures, the traces of its action being subsequently removed as in later gem-engraving, but also serves by means of its circular depressions to accentuate the contours and articulations of the figure, as well as to furnish simple and effective forms of ornament. For examples of this sort of work, reference may be made to the following early gems:—

(a) For the use of large drill-holes in the articulation of limbs, &c.—Middleton, *Engraved Gems*, p. 110, Fig. 24. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Pl. A, 106, 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1888, Pl. X. *passim*, esp. 5 (note the use of the *tubular* drill).

(b) For the use of small drill-holes to characterise a surface—Middleton, *Engraved Gems*, Pl. I. 2 (eagle and serpent, cp. *A.Z.* 1883, Pl. XVI. 23—a later example—and the early coins of Chalcis): *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Pl. A, 82.

(c) For the free use of the wheel—numerous examples in *A.Z.* 1883, Pl. XVI. and *Ath. Mitt.* 1886, Pl. VI.; the network so common on island-gems seems to be thus produced, and wings are regularly treated in this way.

If we now compare with these gems the subjects of our mould, we cannot fail to notice precisely the same technical peculiarities.

(1) The larger drill-holes serve to accentuate such features as the knees of the horses and other animals, and the heels, eyes, and breasts of the human figure, while in some cases they appear to remain as indications of the general structure—as in the case of the hind-quarters of the horses and ox—which the artist has not thought fit to obliterate in working over the surface.

(2) Frequent use is made of rows of smaller drill-holes, *e.g.* in bringing into relief the under surfaces of the hares and fish-god, and in giving character to hair, manes, tail, and outspread wings, as well as to the feet of the tripod.

(3) The 'rosette of points,' well known in other classes of work, such as 'Proto-Corinthian' pottery, is a frequent and prominent element in the decoration. The origin is here clearly to be seen in the combination for ornamental purposes of the large and small drill-holes.

(4) The features of early gem-engravings which owe their origin to the use of the wheel, such as the fondness of the artist for representing birds with outspread wings, may be illustrated in several instances from our mould.

While the mould thus enables us to trace the art of the metal-worker in early Greece to its technical origin in the procedure of the gem-engraver, it also helps us to detect remoter traces of the same influence in forms of

<sup>1</sup> Middleton would trace the use of the diamond-point on the earliest gems and even proposes to regard the incised lines of the Macmillan lekythos (protocorinthian) as thus produced; but this seems doubtful.

art not directly affected by it in their technical processes. For example, the use of the 'rosette of points' in early vase-painting and the bordering of draperies with rows of small white points, as well as the representation of hair by raised dots of black glaze in r.f. painting, are seen to be derived from the same source.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion to which the foregoing observations point is that the close interconnection between the various arts and crafts in early Greece which reveals itself so markedly in their common stock of types extends also to their technical methods. And we may justly see in this latter fact one of the causes to which fixity of type is due. For beside the strength of tradition in the schools of early handicraft and the poverty of invention which belongs to the artistic infancy of the Greek stocks, we must recognise as a factor in the fixing of types the circumstance that the dominant arts in the matter of technique were those distinguished by their use of mechanical reproduction from the matrix.<sup>2</sup>

We may now pass on to consider the place which our mould claims in early art by virtue of its subjects. In seeking for analogies we turn naturally to the products of the minor arts, which group themselves under the following heads:—

(1) Metal-work. It is here that we expect to find the closest parallels to the subjects of the mould, since the products of similar matrices have come down to us in no inconsiderable number. They may be classed according to their material as follows:—

(a) Gold. Plaques and diadems from Athens (*A.Z.* 1884, Pl. IX.), Corinth (*id.* Pl. VIII.), Rhodes (Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, I), Eleusis ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1885, Pl. IX.)

(b) Silver. Fragmentary relief from Olympia (iv. Pl. XXXIX. No. 710), plaques from Cyprus (*Jahrb.* 1887, Pl. VIII.).

(c) Bronze. In this material we have (α) the series of *plaques* usually known as the 'Argo-Corinthian' bronze-reliefs, treated especially by Mr. A. G. Bather in this *Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 249 ff. and by M. De Ridder in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 218 ff., and his catalogues of the Bronzes of the Acropolis and of the Polytechnion; (β) the small group of *mirror handles* discussed by Furtwängler in *Historisch-philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 181–193 and De Ridder in the latter of the two catalogues above named, p. 30: (γ) the class of *diadems*, found especially in Boeotia and published 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, Pl. XXII. and *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1891, p. 124 f. See De Ridder in the catalogue last quoted, p. 67.

(2) Gem-engraving. In this branch we must pay special attention to the so-called 'Inselsteine,' a class which, as is well known, bridges the transitions

<sup>1</sup> It is instructive to compare the surface of the fish-god on the island-gem *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Pl. A, 82 with the similar figures on the Castle Ashby vase (A. V. 318), with their dotted bodies. On the rows of dots in Tyrrhenian vases see Hauser, *Jahrb.* 1893 p. 102 n. 21, who points

to the same phenomenon in Boeotian work.

<sup>2</sup> The mould also explains the phenomenon noticed by De Ridder, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 220, 'les bordures sont estampées à l'aide de matrices dont la grandeur ne dépasse pas un champ.'

which lead from Mycenaean art down to that of historical Greece. The latest discovered of these gems, published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, Pl. V. (Pollak), will furnish analogies to the mould. 'Archaic' gems are also available for comparison.

(3) Pottery (*a*) stamped, (*b*) painted. The former class, which from the similarity of its technique has the closest affinity with our monument, is only represented by a few examples from Greece proper, so that our conception of it is mainly derived through the medium of the Etruscan 'buccheri,' which imitate its types. The Greek examples are treated by Pottier in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888, pp. 491-509, and *Monuments Grecs*, ii. 14-16, Pl. VIII., and recent additions to their number are published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, Pl. V. (Pollak) VI. (Dümmler).

Among the various styles of painted pottery the 'Proto-Corinthian' is that which is most valuable for our purpose. For the most recent and valuable discussion of this class see Orsi in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, pp. 109 ff.

It will be found that in its ornament and subjects our mould presents such close analogies to all these groups that all are clearly seen to be the products of the same artistic impulse in various stages.

1. ORNAMENT.—The ornaments of the mould may be grouped as follows:—

(1) Decorative bands.

(*a*) The 'guilloche' or plait. This is almost the commonest motive thus applied on early bronze-reliefs—Olympia, iv. Pl. XXXIX. 699-702, *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, xiv. 1-4 (Acropolis), De Ridder, *Bronzes d'Athènes*, 797 (1311) (Eleutheræ). *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892, Pl. X. (Ptoion), Carapanos, *Dodone*, xvi. 2, 3.

(*b*) The primitive mæander, not continuous, but in short sections perpendicular to the line of the band. It should be noted that the form here adopted stands midway between the simpler variety of the 'Phaleron' vase, *Jahrb.* 1887, p. 46, Fig. 5, and the more elaborate Boeotian pattern *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 341, Fig. 23 (cp. also the 'Phaleron' vase *Jahrb.* 1887, p. 57, Fig. 23).

(*c*) The row of points. Also extremely common on early bronze-work. See De Ridder, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 219, and cp. *Op. cit.* 1892, Pl. XI. XIV, XV. (Ptoion), *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 117, Figs. 7-9 (Akrokorinth), *ib.* 1891, p. 125, No. 12 *b, c* (Thebes), and many other examples.

(*d*) Bands divided by vertical lines into squares containing points. A reduced form of the common type, Olympia, iv. Pl. XXXIX. 703, 704, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892, Pl. X. *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 118, Fig. 12, &c., &c. (the squares left empty, Olympia, *loc. cit.* 699, Carapanos *Dodone*, xvi. 3, &c.)

(2) Miscellaneous ornaments.

(*a*) The rosette. This appears in two forms, (*a*) the elaborate rosettes which occupy the space on the extreme left of Fig. 4, for which the best parallels may be found in the Boeotian diadems, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1891.

p. 125, No. 12 *b, d, f*, 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, X. XII.; (β) the 'rosette of points,' a feature of 'Proto-Corinthian' pottery *e.g.*, *A.Z.* 1883, Pl. X. 1, 2, (cp. p. 162, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1888, p. 247, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 156, Fig. 43), but also found on Dipylon (*A.Z.*, 1885, Pl. VIII. 2), Boeotian (*Jahrb.* 1888, pp. 335, Fig. 7, 341, Fig. 24), and early Attic (*A.Z.*, 1882, Pl. IX. X., *Antike Denkmäler*, i. 57, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, liv.) ware. It is noteworthy that we also find it not only on early metal-work (Olympia, iv. Pl. XXXVIII.) but also on gems (*Ath. Mitth.* 1896, Pl. V. 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. B, 113, the central point worked with the *tubular drill*).

(b) Simple plant-forms—confined to the foliated branch and its combinations. This motive is again widely spread in early art. A few examples may be noted: (α) bronze-reliefs—*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892, Pl. XIV. (Ptoion), *ib.* 1895, p. 218, Fig. 23, 24, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 117, No. 7, *ib.* 1881, p. 124; (β) island-gems—*Ath. Mitth.* 1896, Pl. V. 2, *ib.* 1886, Pl. VI. 7 *a*, *A.Z.*, 1883, Pl. XVI. 2, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. B 113; (γ) painting—Corinthian vase, Rayet et Collignon, *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque*, Fig. 33, sarcophagus from Clazomenae, *Rev. Arch.* 1896, p. 121; (δ) stamped pottery, *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, p. 230, Fig. 1, Pl. VI. (branches in hands of centaurs, practically an ornamental application of this motive). Etruscan 'bucchero,' Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. XXXIV. 2. This example serves to connect the various branches of art in which we may trace the style to which our mould belongs. The same lesson may be drawn from the consideration of the *subjects* represented.

B. SUBJECTS.—Considering these as a whole, we cannot fail to notice that they are of the simplest possible description. Setting aside the compositions formed by animals, there is only one case in which more than a single human figure occurs, and here the composition is almost purely decorative. The types appear reduced to their simplest form—the mere letters of that artistic alphabet into which we have to read the meaning derived from their later and better known combinations. It will be convenient to group them according to the form of the field which they occupy.

(1) The square field. The importance of this in early art is well-known. Within its limits we can trace the evolution of the best known types from decorative symbols to expressive groups. In the gold plaques of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Corinth, in the Argo-Corinthian reliefs and the mirror-handles which go closely with these we see the school in which the types were created. Even in the dimensions of the field we find but little variation, from 4 to 5½ centimetres being the usual length of the side. They were borrowed by artists working in different materials *e.g.* the sculptors of Etruscan tomb-doors (on which see Mikuni in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1892, pp. 472 ff.) and the painters of the sarcophagi of Clazomenae, where the longer sides of the lid lent themselves to this principle of division of the type found on the matrix. The bridled horse calls for no special comment,<sup>1</sup> but the central group of Fig. 2 deserves careful attention.

<sup>1</sup> For a parallel see the Boeotian casket (geometrical) from Thebes (*Jahrb.* 1888 p. 357).

We see two nude male figures, whose proportions recall those of Peloponnesian work in bronze and other materials (see *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 249) symmetrically grouped about a tripod; each has one foot advanced and firmly planted on the sole, the other withdrawn and resting on tiptoe. Similarly each has one arm bent and resting on the small of the back above the hip, the other extended and bent at the elbow in readiness to deliver a blow, the fists almost meeting above the centre of the tripod. It has been suggested that we have here a primitive form of the 'contest for the tripod' between Apollo and Herakles, commonly represented in b.f. and earlier r.f. vase-painting. It is no doubt the case that the familiar scheme in which Apollo seeks to recover the tripod already carried off by Herakles does not represent the earliest efforts of Greek artists to deal with this subject. On a b.f. vase at Naples (Collezione Santangelo 120) a prior stage of the conflict is depicted. Apollo and Herakles approach the tripod from opposite quarters, and each



FIG. 2.

lays hands upon it simultaneously. But here, apart from the fact that neither figure is characterised by attributes, it seems clear that the attitudes are those of boxers about to engage, while the tripod indicates the prize of the contest. The tripod as *ἀθλον* is employed not only by the artist of the Corinthian Amphiaraios vase (*Med. I.* X. 4) but also on one of the finest of the 'Proto-Corinthian' class, at present unpublished, in the Museum at Taranto. Cp. the chest of Kypselos, Paus. v. 17, 11. We must not however rest content with thus explaining the scene before us, but point out that it is after all but a variant, with a specialised meaning, of the symmetrical pair of figures about a central object which occurs in many forms, more or less meaningless, in early industrial art. Instances might be multiplied from Etruscan buccheri, (cp. Micali, *Storia*, Pl. XX. *passim*), but the most instructive parallels are the Argo-Corinthian bronze-relief from Ptoion, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 Pl. XI. and the fragment of a stamped jar from Rhodes, *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 p. 230. In the light of these examples we may say that the whole truth does not lie in the simple rejection of the theory which sees the contest of Apollo and Herakles for the tripod here represented. Our scene is a true precursor of the earliest scheme applied to that subject; it represents the first stage in the specialisa-

tion of a general and meaningless decorative scheme—a contest for a tripod which was afterwards to be yet further individualised and filled with a mythological content.

(2) Smaller squares and oblong fields. With the exception of two ‘heraldic’ groups—the lion and ox, the cock and hen (?)—these are filled by single figures, in all but two cases those of animals. These latter exceptions must be specially considered:—

(a) *The suicide of Ajax* (Fig. 3, right). This belongs to the limited repertory of scenes drawn from the tale of Troy which is employed by the artists of the early bronze-reliefs and mirrors. Curiously enough, all but one<sup>1</sup> are taken from a brief cycle of events following the death of Hector. The ransoming of the corpse forms the subject of the well-known mirror-handle at Berlin (Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Pl. IV.), the bronze-relief from Olympia (iv. Pl. XXXIX. No. 699), and a bronze-relief from the Acropolis (*Ath. Mitth.* 1895 Pl. XIV. 1 De Ridder, *Catalogue*, No. 349); the *ὄπλων κρίσις* is in all probability indicated in the adjoining field of the last-named relief; while the last act—the suicide—besides being represented on the uppermost extant field of the



FIG. 3.

same monument, which thus enjoys the distinction of presenting the cycle in its entirety, also appears on a relief identical in style and origin, *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, Pl. XIV. 4, De Ridder, *Catalogue*, No. 350, and on our mould. Here however, it is reduced to its very simplest form, the prostrate figure being unattended by the two (in one case three) additional figures of the later bronze-reliefs. Parallels for the extreme reduction may however be found in the fragmentary Corinthian aryballos, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1891, p. 116, 5, where the name ΑΙΦΑΣ is scratched on the figure, and the tomb-door from Corneto, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1881 p. 377, cp. Schneider, *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Galerie*, &c., p. 35. It is noteworthy that the figure occurs (without any clear connection with the other figures of the scene) on the ‘Proto-Corinthian’ lekythos, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 33 f. Fig 5. The introduction of the sword, by making the act of suicide unmistakable, clearly imports a mythical meaning into the scene, for we can scarcely believe that suicide in the abstract would be represented by early artists: but the ‘reduced’ type points back to the

<sup>1</sup> Ajax Onleus and Cassandra (Olympia, 705)



source in such conventional figures of the slain as the Eurytion of the Geryoneia (A.V 105, 106, Chalcidian.)

(b) *The Old Man of the Sea*.—(Fig. 3, next the above.) Beside the epic mythology, the subsidiary pantheon of popular belief, with its fantastic creations, furnished a number of types to early artists, here assisted by the products of Oriental manufacture, which readily lent themselves with little, if any, modification to the expression of Greek conceptions. Amongst these the type of the fishtailed deity worshipped under various titles in the East did duty for the creations of popular fancy to which a variety of names—Proteus, Triton, &c.—were assigned in different places. As the *ἄλιος γέρων* *par excellence* he was worshipped on the Bosphorus, and local legend ascribed to him the office of guide to the Argonauts (Dionysius Byz. p. 20, Wescher, referred to by Furtwangler, *Goldfund von Vetttersfelde*, p. 25); and the same name is applied to him by the inscription on the bronze-relief from Olympia (iv. Pl. XXXIX. No. 699). While, however, the single figure occurs on such early products as the island-gem, *Ath. Mitth.* 1886, Pl. VI. 10, the specimen of



FIG. 1.

'red ware' Micali, *Mon. Ital.* 34, 3, and the gold fish of Vetttersfelde, and survives as a coin-type at Cyzicus (*B. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, Pl. IV. 8), it was at a very early period drawn into the circle of 'closed types,' the wrestling-bout of Herakles with the *ἄλιος γέρων* being almost if not quite the first instance or the specialised wrestling scheme. It occurs on the island-gem, *B. Mus.* 82, and on the Olympian bronze-relief above referred to. The type was borrowed by monumental sculpture in the case of the frieze of Assos and the poros pediment from the Acropolis.

The other subjects belonging to this group may receive a more summary treatment. We find represented a series of animal figures—griffon, boar, stag, lion, ox, swan, owl, cock, hen, and dolphin—which are all part of the stock-in-trade of the Corinthian vase-painter, and have within recent years appeared also on the products of the kindred art of metal-work. The excavations at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios have brought to light a series of reliefs which correspond closely to the subjects of the mould, published *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892, Pl. XIV. XV. Homolle justly pointed out that the

style of these reliefs is not homogeneous: the bands represented on Pl. XIV. are of much coarser workmanship, and show comparative poverty of invention. He is disposed to attribute them to an earlier period than the more finished products of Pl. XV., where the vertical divisions mark the final adoption of the 'metope' style to which the heraldic groups of the earlier class form a transition, and (as appears from the topmost band) the human figure was introduced to vary the succession of fabulous and animal subjects; but a comparison of our mould would seem to show that the difference lies in the skill with which the respective artists handle their technique rather than in the date of the monuments. For example, the employment of small drill-holes to characterise a surface is employed both for the sphinxes of Pl. XV. and the bird-griffins of Pl. XIV., but in the former case with a much more certain hand: and while the artist of the matrix approaches the careful and precise workmanship of the former, he presents the most striking analogies to the birds of the lower band on Pl. XIV. (especially in his owl, swans, and the group of cock and hen), and to the use of the foliated branch as the centre of a symmetrical group (twice on Pl. XIV.).

It will be clear from the foregoing comparison that the animal subjects confirm the position assigned to the mould on other grounds: a few notes may be appended on some individual types:—

(a) The *griffin* appears seated: De Ridder (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 221) sees in this feature a distinctive mark of Corinthian as distinguished from Ionian art; but apart from the fact (noticed by him) that the griffin appears 'passant' on the Olympia bronze (iv. Pl. XXXVIII.), this observation seems contradicted by the circumstance that the nearest analogy to our type is to be seen in the early coins of Teos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Ionia*, Pl. XXX.).

(b) The *grazing stag* is described by Dümmler (*Jahrb.* 1887, p. 18) as rare in Greek art and foreign to Corinthian vase-painting. The incorrectness of the latter remark has been pointed out by Wilisch, *Die altkorinthische Thonindustrie*, p. 42 n. 153; but it may be worth while to add that it belongs to the Proto-Corinthian (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 137, Fig. 14), Boeotian ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, Pl. VIII.), Dipylon (*Ath. Mitth.* 1892, Pl. X.), and early Attic (*Ath. Mitth.* 1895, Pl. III.) styles.

(c) The *owl*, a relatively rare bird in early art, may be paralleled from the silver relief, *Olympia*, iv. Pl. XXXIX. No. 710, (which Furtwangler dates too low) and the early Attic vase, *Antik. Denkmäler*, i. 57.

(d) The *dolphin* is a commoner figure in metal-work and gem-engraving than in the other arts. Instances are the gold-find of Vetttersfelde and the gems, *Ath. Mitth.* 1886, Pl. VI. 5. Cp. the early Attic vase mentioned under (c).

(3) The frieze. Of this we have but a single example; it is, however, an extremely important one—the representation of a dog pursuing hares in wooded country, indicated by a free use of the 'foliated branch.' It is unnecessary here to repeat Löschke's demonstration that the type, represented by the Hesiodic Ἀσπίς and the Etruscan 'buccheri,' is the product of early metal-work; what is more important is to note (a) that it found its

way into pottery as early as the Dipylon period (*A.Z.*, 1885, Pl. VIII. 1) and was especially affected by the 'Proto-Corinthian' potters (*J.H.S.* 1890, Pl. II., *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 247, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 157, Fig. 44, *id.* 1893, p. 471, *A.Z.* 1883, Pl. X. 2); (b) that since Löschcke's article was written two very similar examples in metal have appeared—the diadem from Thebes, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1891, p. 124, and our mould. The former is executed in the style of the coarser bronze-reliefs of the Ptoion above referred to; it presents an analogy to our example in the use of the foliated branch, although—as might be expected from the inferior workmanship—in a most unintelligent application, and a still more important one in the fact that the scene is curtailed and robbed of much of its picturesqueness by the absence of an important part, namely the net with the crouching hunter concealed behind it, so carefully rendered in the microscopic scene of the Macmillan lekythos.

Our review of the ornaments and subjects of the mould has revealed affinities which leave no doubt as to the place to be assigned to it in early Greek art. It remains to endeavour, if possible, to date the object approxi-



FIG. 5.

mately and to determine the place of its manufacture. We have seen that in the class of ornaments to which it belongs it occupies (relatively speaking) an early place. The human figure is but rarely employed; the types selected belong to the earliest phase of Greek art under Oriental influence, or even, as in the case of the hare hunt, point to the close of the 'Dipylon' period; and they appear in their simplest forms, decorative capacity being clearly of more importance to the artist than fulness of meaning. Moreover, not only are our analogies drawn mainly from the *earliest* bronze-reliefs, such as lie nearest to the period of stamped 'red ware' and similar products, but the monuments which come next to these in their affinity to our mould are the island-gems and 'Proto-Corinthian' vases. Of the former it may be said that the later members of the class, which present the features of likeness with the mould, belong in all likelihood to the seventh century B.C., giving place to the 'archaic' gems in the sixth century; while the latter class, first appearing in the eighth century, certainly produced its finest examples in the seventh. Much light has been thrown upon 'Proto-Corinthian' ware as it appears in the West by the researches of Orsi in the 'Necropoli del Fusco' at Syracuse

his results are published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, pp. 113 ff. The periods which he distinguishes in the history of the fabric are—purely geometric (725-700 B.C.); with animal forms (700-650 B.C.); with animal forms, developed (650-580 B.C.) The latter date he regards as that of the introduction of the specifically 'Corinthian' ware; it is probably, however, too low. It seems necessary here to reopen the question as to the origin of this class of ware. Our point of departure must be the fact that the earliest deposits in the graves of Syracuse and Cumae—the first a colony of Corinth, the second of Chalcis—are identical in character. The typical vase is the small, almost globular lekythos with geometrical decoration on the shoulder (rarely animals), and parallel lines covering the belly of the vase. Instances are, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1893, pp. 451, 473, *id.* 1895, p. 138, Fig. 15, 16, p. 151, Fig. 37, p. 179, Fig. 71, p. 190, Fig. 91 (all from Syracuse. Orsi states that two examples from Megara are the only others found in Sicily). I have in my possession two precisely similar lekythi discovered at Cumae in May, 1892. Having in view the part played by Corinth and Chalcis in early colonial enterprise, and the similarity between Corinthian and Chalcidian vase-painting at a later period, we need not be surprised to find the potters of both cities employing a common style in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. That some at least of the 'Proto-Corinthian' pottery is of Corinthian manufacture is rendered certain by the fact that a lekythos in the museum at Syracuse, marked as coming from Megara Hyblaea, bears as its decoration the meaningless combination of letters, among which the Corinthian symbol for beta occurs. A feature, however, which seems rather to point to Chalcis as the earliest home of the style is the decoration of the belly of the vase with concentric stripes. This is found not only in the globular lekythi above referred to, but in vases of other forms (flat-bottomed oenochoe with long neck, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, p. 132, Fig. 10, scyphi, vasi a colonnette, &c., *id.* 1893, pp. 457, 474, 477, and others). Now this feature seems to be especially characteristic of what may be called 'Proto-Boeotian' pottery; see the examples from Thebes, *Jahrb.* 1888, pp. 248, 340 Figs. 19, 20, 352, Fig. 30, 353, Fig. 32.<sup>1</sup> When we find that Boeotia is a fruitful source both of the more finished Proto-Corinthian vases and the products of early metal-work, the close vicinity of Chalcis makes it seem probable that that city played an important part in the artistic activity to which these objects owe their existence.<sup>2</sup>

Setting aside the finds of Sicily and Magna Graccia, we find that of the most perfect specimens of Proto-Corinthian lekythi with advanced compositions, two (the Macmillan lekythos, which is the finest example known, and that figured *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 247) were found at Thebes, while the third

<sup>1</sup> The 'proto-boeotian' vase *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 33, fig. 2 is also very instructive in its resemblance to 'proto-corinthian' work. See Furtwangler's remarks.

<sup>2</sup> That the proto-corinthian vases owe their inspiration to Oriental metal-work has been

shown by Mr. Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.* 1890, p. 179, with the aid of an example obviously indebted to Phoenician models. But the form and decoration of the vases leave no doubt of the affinity of this style with the goldsmith's art.

whose provenience is given came from Corinth, according to the dealer's assertion (*A.Z.*, 1883, Pl. XI.). The origin of *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 33 f. Nos. 14, 15 is uncertain. In the case of the metal-work which seems to continue the same traditions of workmanship we find that, excluding Athens and Olympia Boeotia is distinguished by the number of its finds—viz., at Orchomenos, Eleutherae, and the Ptoion—to which may be added the Theban diadems more than once referred to above; as a set-off we can point to the bands from Corinth (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 124 f.) and the mirror-handle from the same source. In the sixth century, however, apart from the testimony of inscriptions in the Argive alphabet, the evidence for a Peloponnesian manufacture of these reliefs seems sufficient. But it seems difficult to resist the conviction that in the industrial art of the seventh century Chalcis—the 'city of bronze'—played an important part, especially in training a school of craftsmen distinguished by the minuteness and accuracy of their technical skill. It is hard to account for the transition from the extraordinary finish of the finest Proto-Corinthian lekythi to the coarseness of the Corinthian aryballi, &c., which succeed them towards the end of the century, if both are supposed to be products of the same fabric, although the commoner examples of the class may without difficulty be attributed to Corinth.

Again, we have to provide a satisfactory account of the permeation of the workshops of Continental Greece by Ionic types and conceptions: and it appears most reasonable to believe that the Ionians of Chalcis were in this case the intermediaries. Chalcidian influence would extend first to Boeotia, and thence, in two divergent streams, to Attica and Corinth; and that this was actually the case is an impression which gathers strength on repeated consideration of the monuments assignable to the several districts named. Our mould was found in Coreyra; and it was precisely here that Corinthian and Chalcidian influence mingled in a common stream tending westward. The legends as to the colonisation of the island speak of an early settlement from Eretria, the neighbour and foe of Chalcis; the settlers were expelled by Corinth, no doubt—if the tradition be worth anything—with the approval of the Chalcidians. Distinct traces of Ionic influence are few; the griffin and the Old Man of the Sea have been seen to remind us of analogies of Asia Minor; but the monument is certainly anterior to the expansion of 'mythographic' art which was to result, about the close of the seventh century, in such compositions as those of the chest of Kypselos. We shall, therefore, not be far wrong in attributing the matrix to the middle of the seventh century, if not earlier, and regarding it as the product of the school whose centres were Corinth and Chalcis, and whose function it was to elaborate and apply to fresh fields the technical methods properly belonging to the 'gem-engraver,' but dominating at the period referred to the industrial centres of Greece proper.

H. STUART JONES

# ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1895-6.

## I. GENERAL.

THE past year has not been productive of any momentous discovery, excepting only the bronze statue at Delphi, which will be described more fully in its own place; but a great amount of useful work has been done in various directions, and, indeed, the great variety of what has been achieved may be regarded as the characteristic feature of the year.

In Athens, the excavations in the neighbourhood of the Pnyx and the Areopagus have reached their third season. In the later months of 1894 the entire shrine which Dörpfeld identifies as that of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις was laid bare, with its temple, altar, and wine-press. The archaic structure seems to have been in existence down to late Greek times, when its site was covered by a building which is identified by an inscription as the assembly house of the Iobacchi. From the different methods of construction which can be traced in the walls, it would seem that this building must have stood for a long period; the base of the altar, belonging to the earlier stage, is fairly well preserved; it consisted of a table supported on four slender columns, replaced later by four larger supports; at one side on the step are sinkings for two stelæ; Dörpfeld points out that according to Demosthenes (?) (*Neuera*, 76) the oath which the Gerairai had to swear at the sacred marriage of the Basilinna in the Anthesteria was inscribed on a stelè set up ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βῶμον ἐν Λίμναις, an expression which suits the proposed identification. The inscription of the Iobacchi (published by Wide in *Ath. Mitth.* xix, p. 260) mentions, l. 123, a conjunction of Dionysos and Korè, which points to the shrine of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις; and Dörpfeld remarks that the name Iobacchi itself corresponds with the name of the festival (Iobakechia) mentioned in the oath of the Gerairai on the stelè: the natural inference is that this local cult was a survival of the archaic national one.

Whether the building which has been found is the actual shrine of Dionysos in the marshes or not, it is certain that we have here the remains of a comparatively large and very ancient sacred precinct; its early date is fixed, not only by the character of the masonry, but also by the fact that a large quantity of fragments of pottery with geometric decoration have been found

in connection with it. It enclosed not only the temple but also the altar already mentioned (probably of the same date), and a wine-press of the fourth century, B.C., which covered the remains of one of much earlier date: this last recalls the passage in the Schol. to *Ar. Ach.* 201, which explains the name Lenaion *διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ληνὸν τεθῆναι*.

In *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, p. 183 foll., Dörpfeld examines the passages in ancient literature, which show that before the building of the Lycurgus theatre Dionysiac representations had been held elsewhere; and concludes that all these passages point to one locality, and that the Lenaion. There is, however, a distinction to be drawn between the term Lenaion and that of Dionysion *ἐν Αἰμναις*; the old precinct is never called, by those writers who had seen it, *τὸ Λήναιον*, but either *τὸ ἐν Αἰμναις Διονύσιον* or *τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δ.* *τὸ ἐν Α.*, or something similar. On the other hand, in contemporary notices of those agones which refer to the older country Dionysia, the place named is *Λήναιον*, never *τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Α.*: *ὁ ἐπὶ Α. ἀγών* is the usual name of the older skenic agon. Dörpfeld thinks (*ibid* p. 205) that we must distinguish between the two terms. The Lenaion is the place of *ληνοί* (wine-presses), and the general wine-press place lay in the neighbourhood of the precinct, on or beside which the choruses from the earliest times danced and sang at the festival of the god. The later writers (who no longer knew the old precinct), explained the Lenaion wrongly as the hieron of Lenaïos, and identified it with the temenos *ἐν Αἰμναις*.

The passage in Thucyd. ii. 15, which has been much discussed in this connection, is now explained as showing that the earliest town lay on the upper Acropolis, and on its south and west slope. In the old interpretation of the passage the Lenaion, as well as the other shrines mentioned by Thucydides, was placed in the precinct of Dionysos at the theatre, in the south-west of the acropolis; but it is now generally accepted that the theatre precinct belonged to Dionysos Eleuthereus, and this interpretation falls to the ground.

The general scheme of excavations in this neighbourhood included the further exploration of the great water-system with which it is proposed to identify the Eumekrounos. As in former seasons, the existence of the modern roadway has again proved an obstacle, and it cannot yet be said that any decisive evidence has been obtained. The rock conduits have been further cleaned, and some of their deviations followed; and several great reservoirs have been found in the rock connected with each other, and forming a system of waterworks, probably of the pre-Peisistratid age, by which the water of the three hills was collected above the old fountain; when Peisistratos made his great rock watercourse, these cave reservoirs became superfluous, and dropped out of use. The most important evidence for the identification of the site is in the fact that the end of the aqueduct is now traceable, with the Greek and Roman water-basin, and also in the discovery of the commencement of two outlet channels, in the spot behind which the well-chamber is preserved which was used in ancient Greek, and even down to Roman times.

Near the supposed Enneakrounos, lying in the upper strata, were found upwards of forty marble statuettes of Aphrodite which presumably had fallen from the west slope of the Acropolis; it is here that we must probably suppose to have existed the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos, which Pausanias mentions on his way from the Dionysiac theatre to the Acropolis. It was hitherto believed to have lain at the south-west corner, near the Nike Temple, in consequence of some inscriptions found there some years back, built into a mediaeval fortification. The Pelargikon, however, must have occupied most of the space on the south-west; and if we may assign to the Aphrodite shrine a site before the Enneakrounos—probably the centre of the earliest market—we can better appreciate the statement of Apollodorus (Harpokr., s.v. Πάνδημος), that this shrine lay *περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγοράν*.<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that one or more of the different temples which must have existed in this neighbourhood might be discovered; thus Pausanias mentions a temple of Demeter and Kore, and one of Triptolemos, as over the Enneakrounos. Unfortunately, excavation on the Pnyx only proved that the depth of earth there is so slight as to have preserved little or nothing; a series of rock cuttings and cisterns were the sole results. It was also hoped that an old Greek building east of the Dionysion *ἐν Αἰμναῖς* might prove to be the Prytaneion (*Ath. Mitth.*, 1894, p. 508); this has now been cleared, and only negative evidence has resulted, though the purpose of the building cannot be explained. The operations on the west slope of the Areopagus have been continued, disclosing more houses with stairways cut in the rock, but nothing of special interest, unless we may except the house of a terracotta statuette maker, in which a large number of moulds belonging to his trade were found.

Perhaps the most important result of the German excavations of the year has been the discovery of what is claimed to be the Stoa Basileios. For various reasons it has been supposed that this building lay to the east and south-east of the so-called Theseion, or under the houses on the west side of the modern Ὁδὸς Ποσειδῶνος. In the spring of 1896, two of these houses were bought by the German Institute, and destroyed. Beneath their foundations portions of two public buildings came to light, each consisting of a hall with portico facing eastward. The northernmost building cannot be later than the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and this it is proposed to identify as the Stoa Basiliké. The other building is of later date, but is built on the remains of an earlier structure, which seems to have been a simple portico. It is very desirable that the question should be solved; unfortunately, the purchase and destruction of houses in a populous quarter of Athens is a costly affair, but it is pleasant to know that a third house is already doomed for the coming season.

In the *Ath. Mitth.*, 1895, p. 507, Dorpfeld gave reasons for supposing that the deme of Alopeke (between which deme and the town lay the gymnasium of Kynosarges) lay, not where Curtius and others have placed it, but

<sup>1</sup> Dorpfeld in *Ath. Mitth.*, 1895, p. 511



across the Ilissos, in the south of the town towards Phaleron, approximately where the church known as H. Marina stands. Two personal friends having placed in my hands a sum of money for the purposes of excavation, I was enabled, in the spring of 1896, to open ground in the spot which seemed the most likely site for this gymnasium. The excavation is still proceeding, and it is sufficient here to say that we have found the foundation walls of a large public building which appears to date from the sixth century B.C., and to be, in plan, suitable for a gymnasium. It lay in the midst of a necropolis of tombs, dating from the seventh century B.C. downwards, and, subsequently to the third century B.C., was used partly as the site of a Roman bath, partly as a graveyard. Adjoining it are the remains of a larger building which seems to have been a gymnasium of the time, perhaps, of Hadrian.

With a view to the Olympic festival of 1896, the Stadium has been restored, for the most part in marble, at the cost of M. Averof, a Greek gentleman of Alexandria. The work preparatory to this undertaking resulted in some small discoveries, the most important of which is that the long sides, hitherto supposed to be straight, have a slight bend outwards in the centre; the practical utility of this, as enabling each spectator to obtain a wider view of the course, was clearly shown during the games on such days as the stadium was crowded with spectators. In the course of the excavations, sufficient details were found to admit of the accurate restoration of every architectural feature of the ancient structure; and two of the double herns found here have been set up *in situ*.

Turning now from actual excavation, we find that a good deal of important work has been done in connection with the antiquities already existing in Athens, chiefly in connection with the Acropolis. The lengthy task of publishing the vase fragments is not yet completed, and the fragments are not yet exhibited; but, on the other hand most interesting pieces of work have been effected with the architectural remains. One of these is the study which H. Schrader has completed of the composition of the archaic marble pediment sculptures representing a Gigantomachia; the other is the discovery of T. Wiegand, that sufficient architectural remains are preserved, not only to confirm the existence of an earlier shrine in the place of the Peisistratid Athena temple, but even to give us an approximate idea of its dimensions and ornament. His article has not yet been published, but he has most kindly given me the following summary of its results:—‘The temple, of limestone, was a double temple *in antis*, 100 feet long and 40 feet wide, with six metopes in front and eighteen metopes at each long side. Its pediments were decorated with the two well-known poros groups of Zeus fighting with the triple-bodied Typhon, and Herakles wrestling with Triton. Several of the architrave beams of this temple were discovered in the Kimonian south wall of the Acropolis, built in above the theatre of Dionysos. The height of these beams is 1·50 m., that of the triglyphs 1·40 m. A special peculiarity of the horizontal geisa lies in the fact that their mutules are of different size, varying between six and four guttae in front. The metopes and sima consisted of marble, and were gaily painted: the ornamentation and colouring of

the springing pediment-geisa is particularly interesting: these are decorated on the underside partly with gigantic lotos flowers, partly with eagles and great water birds, which are so arranged as if they wished to fly out into the free air. In its general forms, as, for instance, the wide-bulging echinus of the capital, the temple recalls the temples of Magna Graecia, and thus its attribution to the time of Solon may be suggested as perhaps the most probable date.

'Besides the remains of this pre-Peisi-stratid Athena temple, there is further evidence to determine the existence of no less than five smaller pre-Persian buildings in poros stone, of which some are specially interesting on account of their polychrome decorations, and one on account of its plan. Thus one, for instance, had an apse similar to the Bouleuterion at Olympia.

'Of all these buildings I have, in co-operation with my colleague the architect Herr Wilberg, put together and built up fragments, so that when this work is completed the Acropolis will possess a small museum of architecture of the pre-Persian buildings, which I hope the Ephor-general will also make accessible to the general public.'

One of the few remaining problems connected with the Parthenon was happily solved last winter by the energy of Mr. E. Andrews, a student of the American School. It has long been known that the marks on the east architrave of the temple are the traces of nails which served to attach the letters of an inscription: but as to the date and purport of the inscription itself nothing had hitherto been known. Mr. Andrews, at considerable personal risk, succeeded in getting paper squeezes of these marks, and after some study arrived at a nearly complete decipherment of the inscription, which runs thus:—

Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή καὶ ἡ βουλή τῶν Χιλίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοκράτορα μέγιστον Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Θεοῦ υἱὸν, στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας τὸ ὄγδοον τοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου Τι. Κλαυδίου Νουίου τοῦ Φιλίνου ἐπὶ ἱερείας . . . τῆς . . . θυγατρὸς.

The reference to the eighth term of the generalship of Novius fixes the date at A.D. 61, and the whole inscription probably commemorates the erection of a statue of Nero, perhaps in front of the Parthenon. In this connection it should be recorded that the committee appointed to examine the condition of the structure finished their report in the spring of 1896, and the work of repair was commenced during the summer; it is hoped that the present work may place the Parthenon as far as possible beyond danger from catastrophes similar to that of 1895.

A small excavation begun at Peiræus under the direction of Mr. I. Dragatsis has resulted in the identification of the Serapeion mentioned by Isæus, Alciphron, and the lexicons. A cave on the east side of the Munychia hill was cleared out, and proved to be an extensive structure decorated with mosaics, and serving for a bath; this corresponds well with the description

in the ancient writers of the place as *τόπος τοῦ Πειραιῶς* . . . in which was a bath . . . *ἐν ᾧ οἱ κακούργοι ἐκρύπτοντο*. It is possible that further researches in this district would be productive of good results. A small excavation made last year at Cape Kolias by Th. Wiegand brought to light interesting remains of a Greek villa, and furnished a welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of this feature of ancient Greek life.

The excavations at Eleusis in 1895, continued under the direction of Mr. Skias, resulted in no special addition to our knowledge of the topography, but were productive of some interesting paintings on terra-cotta; among others may be noted a large pinax with two rows of figures, and an amphora, both of the fourth century B.C.; each of these has a scene appropriate to the locality and an inscription recording its dedication, proving that here, as at Naukratis, Epidauros, and elsewhere, a local fabric of vase-painting was devoted to the supply of offerings specially intended for the cult of the place. Some interesting tombs of the Geometric period were also found, characterised by their unusual size and the wealth of their contents; one such tomb, in which a woman was interred in a seated position, contained no less than sixty-eight vases, besides ornaments in gold, silver, bronze, iron and amber, as well as a series of objects in Egyptian porcelain.

In the spring of 1896 the American School commenced operations on the site of old Corinth. The difficulties of this task may be appreciated from the fact that, in some parts, at least, as the excavation proved, not less than four metres of soil cover the remains of the Roman city, and most of the site is occupied by the modern village, of which the proprietors have to be bought out. Under these circumstances, Professor Richardson is to be congratulated on the good beginning which has been made. The description of Pausanias is so full that the identification of a single public building must prove a valuable clue; and this clue is afforded by the discovery of the theatre, of which the lines of ascending steps, deeply worn by footsteps, have been found in three distinct places. The upper part of the cavea must have been near the site of a temple, as in this portion a large number of terra-cotta statuettes have been discovered; some of these appear to represent a type of Aphrodite; but at present, it seems impossible to decide which of the shrines, mentioned by Pausanias as existing near the theatre, it is likely to prove. East of the existing temple, the excavation was carried down to a great depth; at the lowest level the remains of a building were found which the excavators explain as a Greek stoa or passage, which may possibly throw light on the position of the Agora. It will thus be seen that the undertaking has already reached an interesting stage, but the completion of the work must necessarily be a very slow and laborious task.

At Mycenae the Greek Archaeological Society has continued its excavations under the direction of M. Tsundas, both within and without the Acropolis. The principal result from the interior excavation is a fragment of a very archaic metope in poros, in good preservation, with a female head. Outside the Acropolis were found a large series of rock tombs, with rich remains of various kinds. Most important of all is the discovery of a large

cupola tomb, resembling the so-called Treasury of Atreus, which appears to be quite undisturbed; if so, we may expect a great deal of fresh information as to the method of burial in this class of tombs, as all such graves hitherto found (with the exception of the one at Menidi) prove to have been plundered in antiquity or otherwise destroyed. A notable addition to our knowledge of Mycenaean art has been made in the publication by M. Tsundas ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, pll. 1-2) of a painted stelè, found in the excavations of 1893-5, but only recently cleaned. This stelè served to close the mouth of a small shell-shaped tomb, which led from a larger tomb chamber. Judging from the objects enclosed within the smaller tomb, it must belong to the later Mycenaean period; the stelè, however, had originally been sculptured with a decoration in relief of the primitive Mycenaean epoch. This decoration was at a later period covered with a coat of stucco, on which was painted a design, which has its nearest parallel in the 'Warrior vase' of Mycenae (Loscheke and Furtw., *Myk. Thong.*, xi. 56); it affords timely evidence for the early dating of that vase which has recently (Pottier, in *Rev. Arch.* 1896, p. 23 and others) been questioned.

The Mycenaean question has received a further accession of material from a comparatively new quarter; the excavations conducted in Cyprus by Messrs. Williamson and Christian on behalf of the British Museum reached their third season in the spring of 1896, under the direction of Mr. A. S. Murray and were continued till September by Mr. A. H. Smith. In March a Mycenaean necropolis was found at Encomi, near the ancient Salamis, with a series of undisturbed tombs, which yielded a number of vases and objects in gold, ivory, and porcelain. Among the ivories is an object which seems to be the support of a mirror, carved with two subjects in relief, representing the combat of a man with a Gryphon of the Mycenaean type, and a lion attacking a bull, the style of which recalls the ivories discovered by Layard at Nineveh. A curious cup in white and blue porcelain, supported by a female head, recalls in form the rhyton of the sixth century, and reminds us once more that most of the known forms of classical Greek pottery have their prototype in the Mycenaean civilisation. Similarly, in a series of gold pins from the same site, we have what may be the prototype of the fibula. These pins are either pierced transversely about midway or have a ring bound with wire at the corresponding place, which must have served for a fastening to keep the pin in position. One of the gold finger-rings has a dedication in Egyptian hieroglyphics to the goddess Mut, and is consequently assigned by Egyptologists to about 700 B.C. But even assuming this date to be correct, it would be rash to argue, on these grounds, for a later date for the Mycenaean civilisation of the Greek mainland. We know, for instance, how little the Geometric period of the mainland is represented in Cyprus; and it may well be that the Mycenaean tradition lingered in this island long after it had practically disappeared from the rest of Greece. If a final solution is ever to be obtained of the Mycenaean question, the most promising field seems to be in Crete; that, at least, has been once more shown by the interesting and suggestive researches of

Mr. Arthur Evans, set forth in this *Journal* and in his work on *Cretan Pictographs*. His most recent journeys in the island show that exploration here, when once political affairs admit of it, should have important results.

The southern islands of the Aegæan have been receiving a large share of attention; besides Crete and Cyprus, Melos and Thera have been the subject of organised undertakings. The campaign of the British School is more fully described below. It is sufficient here to state that the topography of the classical town has been carefully studied, with some interesting results: that a fine mosaic has been discovered; and that the remains of Phylakopi, on the north-east side of the island, have been partly investigated. In this last site are the remains of a Mycenaean settlement, represented by a complex of heavy fortifications, a large necropolis, and a large quantity of Mycenaean pottery. Below the Mycenaean stratum are the remains of a more primitive race corresponding with those of the lower strata at Hissarlik, and characterised by rude pottery and implements in obsidian. These researches, it is hoped, will be continued in the coming spring.

At Thera, Dr. Hiller von Gartringen has had a highly successful season: his excavations were mainly directed to the site named Mesa-Bouno, which was formerly thought to represent the ancient Oia, but is now known to cover the site of the town of Thera. Of the ancient town so large a portion has been cleared that it may now be said to be visible almost in its entirety, and of several important public buildings the plans have been recovered and identified: among these are the Stoa Basilikè, beside the Agora; a Palaestra of simple form, intended for the use of the garrison of Ptolemy Euergetes; the garrison building itself: the archaic temple of Apollo Karneios, of which the cella is partly constructed in the rock, with two adjoining chambers in the rock: shrines of Apollo Pythios, of the Egyptian deities, and of Demeter and Kore. Besides these important topographical results, the excavation has been rich in actual remains; in the Stoa was found a series of six marble heads of good workmanship, including a good replica of the Doryphoros; and a large collection of tombs, mostly of the archaic period, has yielded an important series of vases and terracottas. In the epigraphical material which he is collecting for the forthcoming volume of the island inscriptions, Dr. Hiller von Gartringen has been no less successful. The number of Theraean inscriptions now known amounts to no less than 650, of which a large proportion are archaic, and afford us a clear survey of the interesting Theraean alphabet in its successive stages.

The interesting additions thus afforded at Thera to our hitherto scanty knowledge of Hellenistic antiquity are likely to be supplemented on the one hand by the excavations at Philae, conducted on behalf of the Egyptian Government by Captain Lyons (see *Phil. Week.*, 1896, pp. 115, 207); and on the other at Priene, where Drs. Wiegand and Schrader have been excavating on behalf of the German Institute. Since the work on the temple conducted by Mr. Pullan on behalf of the Dilettanti Society, Priene has been very little noticed by archaeologists. Now the site of another fine Ionic temple has been

found, probably to be identified as that of *Zeὺς Ἀθήπιος*, as well as the remains of the Agora, with numerous votive bases, porticoes &c., the theatre, and a large number of interesting private houses.

At Ephesus, again, an English undertaking has been further continued, in this case by the Austrians; but their results, though said to be highly productive, have not yet been published. The same may be said of Samos, where Dr. Bochlau opened a large series of tombs, the contents of which are I understand likely to throw considerable light on the problems connected with the history of Greek vase painting in the sixth century.

The systematic exploration of Phrygia, which has been proceeding for two years under the direction of Herr Korte, is now terminated. One of the most recent discoveries resulted from the opening up of a mound near Bos-eyuk,<sup>1</sup> which proved to be an early Phrygian entombment; it contained, beside objects in stone, bone, and metal, numerous remains of pottery which both in form and technique bear the closest resemblance to those of Hissarlik. Herr Korte claims to have found similar tumuli in the most different parts of Phrygia, and one such is said to exist near Salonica; if so, it would appear that the primitive civilisation represented in the lower strata at Hissarlik and in the Greek islands, must have had far wider range than was hitherto thought to be the case.

The excavations at Delphi have as usual been productive of a large store of bronzes and inscriptions of more or less interest, among which may be noted especially a bronze cow of archaic style 40 cm. in length, of admirable workmanship, found near the great altar of the Chians, and an interesting inscription relating to a bankrupt and the administration of his affairs. Another concerns the régime prescribed for runners: they were not allowed new wine, and if any transgressed the rule he was compelled to pour libations of that wine to the god, and to pay a fine, half of which went to the god and half to the informer. The event of the year is of course the discovery of the life-size bronze statue. It represents a young man attired as charioteer in a long chiton, holding in his hand the reins of the horses, of which some fragments are also preserved. The figure is executed in a style which can only have preceded the best period of Greek sculpture by a short period, and corresponds perhaps most nearly to the sculptures of the pediments of Aegina. The discoverer, M. Homolle, was at first inclined to associate the chariot group, to which this figure obviously belonged, with an inscribed base, and to identify it, by analogy with one at Olympia (Paus. vi. 12), with a portrait group of Hieron; until the statue has been published, however, speculation on this subject would be useless and out of place. The chief work of the past season has been the clearing of the Stadium, which is admirably preserved, and contains among other things the seats set apart for the representatives of the different Greek States.

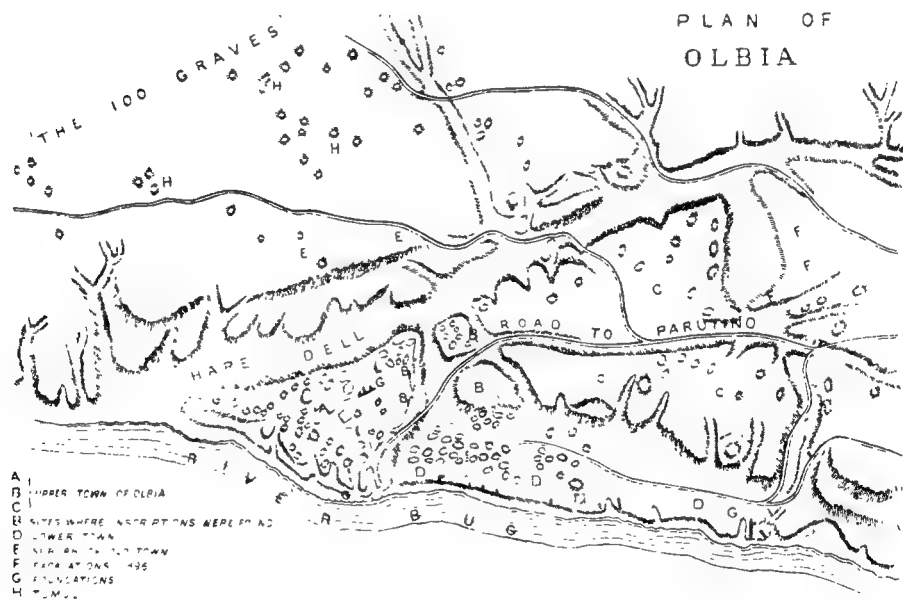
At Olbia, on the Black Sea, the Russian Government has during the

<sup>1</sup> *Phil. Week.* 1896, p. 382.

past summer undertaken some excavations. By the kindness of Dr. Pharnakovsky, to whose direction they were intrusted, I am enabled to give here a short account of them, pending their ultimate publication in a Russian journal.

"In June and July of this year I was charged by the Imperial Archaeological Commission to carry out excavations on the island of Berezan and the site of Olbia, with the following results:—

The island of Berezan lies in Liman, at the point where the Dnieper and Bug emerge into the Black Sea, not far from Otschakoff. Here Prendel and Widhalm had already (in 1886) identified remains of Greek civilisation; and their excavations left no doubt that the island could not be *Λεύκη*, as some authorities had previously believed. We may now follow Latyscheff (*Gesch. der Stadt Olbia*) in his view that the modern Berezan represents the *Βορυσθεῖς* of the ancients. My excavations on Berezan were only provisional, with the object of deciding to what period these remains are to be assigned, and on what point it would be desirable to excavate on a larger scale. I found that the entire north side of





OLBIA (from *Trans. of Odessa Arch. Soc.* viii. 3).

the island is occupied with the remains of a large ancient necropolis. The tombs which I discovered date, according to their contents (pottery and bronzes), from the Roman period, but the cemetery was already in existence at a much earlier time. The shores of Berezan are very steep and are perpetually falling away into the sea, leaving the ancient tomb-showing. Here I found numerous fragments of vases of various fabrics. It is important to note that in Berezan we have fragments of old Rhodian, Corinthian, and the so-called Ekkellura ware, the most frequent being Corinthian. I also found some very interesting fragments in the Naukratis style, which are identical in character with those in the British Museum.

"In Otschakoff I examined some private collections of antiquities; in one of these,

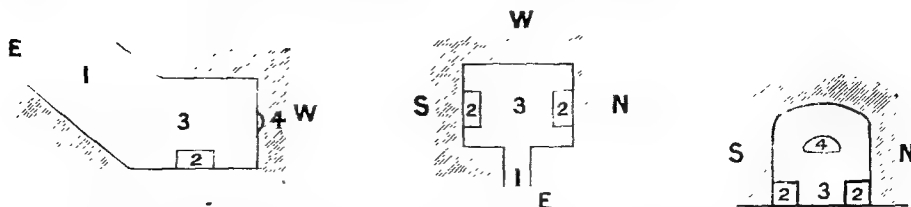
belonging to the priest Levitzky, there are various antiquities from Berezan, consisting of beautiful Ekkellua vases and very fine Corinthian fragments, as well as fragments of Naukratis ware and the usual Attic styles, with black and red figures (of these last, however, the provenience is not certain). It is clear that the Berezan necropolis covers a large period of time. The Archaeological Commission intends shortly to explore this island more fully. [For a plan of Berezan, see *Arbeiten der VI. Archæol. Versamml. zu Odessa*, 1886.]

"At Olbia I found a necropolis dating from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D. The town of Olbia, of which a sketch plan is here given, lies on the shore of Bugliman. A, B, C are the upper town, D the lower; a part of the lower town lies submerged, as the shore is falling away. EE are outlying parts of Olbia, where great quantities of potsherds of later fabrics are lying, as in Athens at the Areopagus, or on the Pnyx. On the plan I have indicated the results so far obtained from excavation on this site; these were carried out in 1873 by Zalielin and Baron von Tiesenhausen: the tombs were found by Graf von Uvaroff, von Suratschan, and von Tastreboff.

"The topography of Olbia is, as yet, very little ascertained. [See the works of Graf von Uvaroff, *Recherches Archéologiques dans la Russie Méridionale*, with atlas; and esp. Latyscheff's *Gesch. der Stadt Olbia*, which gives all the literature of the subject. The best plan of Olbia is that by Koppen, published in the *Denkschr. von d. Kaiserl. Gesellschaft der Gesch. und Alterthümer zu Odessa*.] My excavations have contributed one result to our knowledge of it, viz., that the town did not extend to F, for I dug at this point and found no trace of foundations. Here lay the necropolis of Olbia, which extended further to the west, to the point G, where the village of Parutino now lies. It is not older than the fourth century B.C. At the point F I found forty-eight tombs, all pit graves, but of varying depth and form. The deepest extend twenty-two feet (English) below the surface, and are all chamber tombs, sometimes of remarkable size. The dead were either laid simply on the floor, or on the specially constructed benches; the head was usually (though not always) to the east. These chamber tombs always contained several corpses; only in one case was I able to prove incineration; here, the ashes were deposited in an urn of this form  laid on a bench, around it stood various vases (also on the bench.) But in the same tomb was another corpse, which was not burned, but inhumed. The bodies were very frequently borne into the tomb on biers, and so laid in the ground or on benches; these biers were of wood and leather, of this form  and had four leaden handles (a, a, a, a) of very elegant form. The wood and the handles were gilt, and very often decorated. On the ground were placed several vases and various other utensils. Of their general appearance I have given a detailed account in my Report to the Archaeological Commission, with plans and sections. All without exception were very rich, and were, therefore, already plundered in antiquity. I found only a few remains of gold and silver objects, which the plunderers had lost in the process, or had overlooked; but the fine vases were left behind. These vases are of various forms; beautiful large amphoræ (in form approaching the Apulian), with decoration in gilding and colour, wonderfully beautiful pelikæ, with rich gilt ornament and brilliant glaze [for the technique of these cf. *Berlin Cat.*, 2845-6], one of which had paintings in red figures, fine kylikes (plain black, but of brilliant technique), one of which is inscribed *Διονύσιον*, and a jug with the inscription *Υγείας*; a similar vase in Berlin has the inscription *Ἀθηνᾶς* [cf. *Berlin Cat.*, 1764, 1769, 1771, 1775, 1776, 1801 (all of which have *Φιλίας*); and 2872 (*Υγείας*). Cf. Jahn, *Munich Cat. Einl.* p. cxi.] There are further fine lamps, alabaster, &c. From their style and technique the vases found by me should belong to the fourth-second centuries B.C. There are also vases of late Greek and Roman times, similar to those vases from Olbia, described by Löschcke in *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 18 f.

"The chamber graves of Olbia, however, belong to a different period: the coins found with the vases will, perhaps, give fuller data, which will also be of importance to the chronology of vases. The sketch subjoined represents two sections and a plan of a chamber grave in Olbia.





1, Entrance; 2, Benches; 3, Grave; 4, Niche (where the lamp was usually placed).  
Entrance usually  $30^{\circ}$ — $25^{\circ}$ .

"The chamber tombs are all dug out of the earth. Besides the chamber tombs I also found numerous tombs giving this section going to 15 feet in depth.

"Lastly, there are at Olbia also tombs with this section, usually of later date; these are not deep (not more than 7 feet).

"The objects found in the two last work, silver work, beads, astragali, bronzes bronze statuette, used as an amulet, coins, wooden flooring, and have invariably been plundered.

"In F to G lies also the later necropolis of Olbia (not earlier than the fourth century B.C.). The earlier necropolis must lie in H, from which site the earliest Olbian tomb-inscription comes (Latyscheff, *Inserr.*, 120), and where the Kurgan lies, which was explored by Count Uvaroff [for the contents, see the Atlas to the *Recherches*.]

"The tombs explored by me are only a small proportion of the very extensive necropolis; the excavations here will be prosecuted by the Archaeological Commission in the coming year.

"All the objects which I found are now in the office of the Arch. Commission in St. Petersburg, from which place they will go to the Hermitage; the duplicates and unimportant things pass into the Russian provincial museums.

"The sites A, B, C, E, and H unfortunately cannot as yet be explored, as they belong to a lady who permits no excavation. They must, however, conceal many treasures from science, for they include numerous large Kurganen (similar to Kul-Oba, &c., at Kertch), which are, as yet, wholly undisturbed. The excavations, moreover, in the town itself were not satisfactory; here, too, there is much still to be found. How important the finds there will be, is shown amongst other things by the inscribed base found in Olbia of a statue by Praxiteles: *Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν* (Latyscheff, *Inserr.* 145).

"London, October 12th, 1896.

B. PHARMAKOVSKY."

In the field of Byzantine antiquities, the most important gain has been the completion of the French mission to Mistra, which occupied the summer of 1894 and 1895. According to the report of M. Millet (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1895, p. 268), the entire site has been thoroughly studied, and a plan drawn up; the eight churches have been examined and the details prepared for publication: the principal paintings have been copied by M. Eustache, and the architectural details drawn by M. Brulowski, on behalf of the Academy of St. Petersburg. M. Millet was further enabled to make some excavations which have thrown interesting light on the Byzantine methods of sepulture; and finally a museum has been formed consisting of fragments of architecture and inscriptions.

Among the losses which archaeology has suffered during the past year, the great names of Ernst Curtius and Johannes Overbeck stand prominent. The one name is associated more pre-eminently with practical work, whereof his bust at Olympia is witness; the other, with the theoretical side of archaeology, as represented by his monumental work on Greek sculpture. With these are two others; Humann, the discoverer and initiator, whose fame Pergamon has made European; and Dümmler, one of the most brilliant of the younger school, whose researches into early Greek antiquity combined in a remarkable degree the qualities of daring and laborious thoroughness.

## II. MELOS.

The operations at Melos of the British School, between March 20th and the end of May, were mainly tentative in character; the island contains evidently a large number of ancient sites, but unfortunately, in most of them,



FIG. 1.—THE ISLAND OF MELOS, WITH PART OF KIMOLOS.

a great deal of unsystematic and unrecorded digging has been for a long time carried on. It seemed, therefore, desirable to ascertain, first, whether it would be necessary to continue for more than one season; and, secondly, what sites would best repay investigation. Our first researches were directed to the shore of the little bay of Klima, which lies at the foot of the hill on which the theatre and many other traces of the old town are still distinguishable. The fact that part of this ground (the property of the Government) was said to have yielded the celebrated statue of Poseidon, now in the National Museum, as well as other statues (one of which is still lying *in situ*), and was



metre and a half. At two points we came upon traces of a pavement of coarse large slabs of schistous stone, which was laid slightly above the present water-level. Immediately below these slabs was a thick layer of some bituminous composition smelling strongly of tar, and below this again a quantity of fragments of stone and marble. Evidently these fragments had been thrown in to make some kind of a foundation in the wet loose soil, and an attempt had been made to render the pavement itself damp-proof. This fact is important, as will presently be seen, inasmuch as it shows that the water-level on this site was approximately the same in antiquity as it is to-day. At one point I had a deeper hole made and got a pump to work; but the only result was to show that nothing but sand and marine formation has ever existed here.

At site B there is a much greater depth of soil, as the ground rises considerably in this direction. Here, at first, things looked more promising, as we soon ascertained that the two square bases with mouldings rested, evidently undisturbed, on the marble pavement to which they had belonged; but when four similar bases had been discovered in the same line, and it was seen that not one of them was even reasonably square, while the distances between every two varied, there was no difficulty in deciding that the building must have been an exceedingly late colonnade or stoa. After its destruction, the fragments of it were used in the construction of some walls which resembled those of site A, and which ran alongside the column bases. In one of these walls were built the greater part of a Corinthian column and a piece of marble entablature which had evidently formed part of the stoa. On excavating below the marble pavement we found, first a layer of what seemed to be river deposit, sand, and then (at about the same level as in site A) brackish water. The space which should have been occupied by the (displaced) fifth base was occupied by a wall of irregular blocks of stone, faced with stucco, resting upon the stylobate, but running obliquely across it from north-west to south-east. Between it and the fourth base was found part of an inscribed Melian gravestone of the sixth century, which seems to have been built into the wall. At a subsequent period, when both this wall and the stoa had been destroyed, the ground seems to have been filled in with rubbish up to the level of the tops of the column bases, and on this was erected an exceedingly late construction of which we found two walls running parallel with and enclosing the line of the columns: these were formed of irregular blocks of stone and fragments of the colonnade, loosely bound together with mud.

In order to make sure that no part of the delta had contained buildings of interest, we tried yet a third site (C). This was a large open field to the north of site B, and extending to the point where the steep incline towards the old town commences: this ground had not been excavated within the memory of any one in the island. We started with two trenches, one from the north-west corner, the other from the middle of the west side, both leading towards the centre. In the second of these the soil proved to be sandy in character, and filled with rounded boulders such as would indicate the existence of a disused river-bed. It seems probable that at an early date

the river which follows the ravine between Melos and Klimatobouni must have issued here; and as no objects of any kind were discovered in this trench, it was abandoned. In the other trench we found, at a depth of about one metre and a half, part of a wall of good construction in regular courses running east and west. Eventually this proved to be part of the wall of a house, with a doorway and a well, apparently of the better class of Byzantine construction. In this last excavation were some few fragments of pottery belonging to the late classical period, but not sufficient to warrant the supposition that the site had been actually occupied in classical times. With this exception there was nothing in the entire delta, as far as we could ascertain, which could be assigned to any period previous to late Roman or Byzantine. On the other hand, everything pointed to the fact that the whole area had in classical times been covered by the sea.

The reasonable conclusion seems to be that in the hollow now occupied by Klima we have what was in classical times the true harbour of Melos. It is obvious to any one who looks at the plan that such a harbour, receiving the detritus from the two hills and what the river between them brought down, would speedily silt up if left to itself.

Now it happens that there are in the sea at this point considerable traces of massive masonry, principally at the two extremities of the base of the delta. The masonry at the west end extends furthest into the sea, running in an oblique south-east direction, forming a protection to the harbour against the prevailing set of the currents from the west. These traces have given rise to the story, freely circulated by the fishermen, that the sea has here encroached on the land, and that a part of the town of Melos is here submerged. If this were true, it would be a remarkable contradiction to the geologists who assert that at the Pliocene period the sea-level was at least two hundred metres above the present level. In reality the facts at this point at least show that the sea-level has changed very little within the last two thousand years, and, if anything, has even receded. With two absolutely calm days, a boat, and a sponge-fisher's telescope (*i.e.*, a bucket with a glass bottom), I was enabled to make a close examination of these *κτίρια* in the sea. They consist throughout of massive foundations of unfaced concrete mixed with rough boulders, which are carried up to what is approximately the *present* sea-level. Above the sea-level the construction consists of heavy squared blocks of red or brown trachyte, with an inner core of rubble. Inside the western mole, already described, is a large rectangular building in the sea, which seems to have communicated with the shore by means of a pier; and a similar construction seems to have existed at the east end. These constructions may have served primarily as docks or quays, but would equally have formed a strong basis of defence against attack from the sea. At the west point the cliff comes sheer down into the sea; but in order to secure communication with the small bay to the west, a very narrow passage was anciently tunnelled in the rock, sufficient to admit a single person without stooping. A large piece of this rock with the tunnel through it has fallen, and lies on its side in the sea. If these observations are correct, we must consider the classical harbour of Melos as possessing little or no fore-

shore. The hill on which the town stood must have descended practically sheer into the sea at all points on this side; so that even if an enemy had succeeded in forcing the harbour defences, he would be confronted by an almost perpendicular path which a handful of resolute men could hold against all comers. This may account for the almost total absence of traces of the town wall of defence on this side (see the plan), and also for the fact that in spite of the superiority of the naval force of the Athenians, their attack was delivered from the land side.

The character of the masonry corresponds with that of the retaining walls of the theatre of Melos, and also with that of the temple existing between the two hills: none of these buildings can be of much earlier date than the Ptolemaic period. It may be that by the third or second century B.C. the original harbour within the delta had so far shallowed as to become impracticable; and that the moles were erected in order to replace it with an artificial harbour more to seaward. These moles further contributed to the silting-up of Klima, so that by late Roman times the ground, though swampy, was firm enough to build upon. If it is a fact that the Poseidon and other statues were found here, various explanations may easily be suggested; they may have rolled down from the steep slope above, or may have been brought here to form part of the harbour decorations.

So far then, our excavations, though not productive of actual antiquities, may claim to have had a result which is of considerable topographical interest. After writing the above, I was glad to see that our deductions had been to a certain extent anticipated by Ehrenburg who, in 1889, made an exhaustive geological survey of the island. Discussing the question of the encroachment of the sea at Klima (*Die Inselgruppe von Milos*, p. 46), he remarks that such an encroachment remains merely a probability, 'because we do not know whether the *κτίρια* do not belong to an ancient harbour site, and therefore may have been always in the sea.'

From Klima our excavations proceeded gradually up the hill towards the theatre. On the lower slope, our hopes of finding Greek remains were again baffled; the traces of buildings and antiquities which we discovered were chiefly of late Roman and Byzantine character. There, in the field of Emmanuel Vichos (site D), trenches run along the field and into the hillside revealed a regular street of Byzantine buildings, well preserved; at one point a door was found leading into a cave, in which was a cistern containing Greek fragments: beside the door of this cave was a Doric capital with an inscription recording the erection of a sundial by an archon. In more than one place the ground was excavated down to the bed-rock, reaching a depth of twelve feet, but the result was invariably the same, viz., Byzantine remains with insignificant Greek litter and rifled caves. Above this field the rock had been levelled probably in ancient times, with a gutter at the edge suggesting a roadway: from this point a tunnel was run into the bank along the rock face, and revealed first, a Hellenistic shaft grave, with broken pottery, and subsequently a large cave, across which a wall of late construction had been erected, consisting chiefly of late architectural marble fragments. From this terrace a flight of steps, apparently Byzantine, led to the terrace above,

and was found to be well-preserved. The only object of any interest beside the inscription above mentioned, was a small marble relief with a bull's head of late conventional style, with traces of colour.

The result of this excavation seemed to show that this portion of the slope had not been inhabited in classical times; it had probably been occupied by Greek and Roman cave tombs, of which so many still exist below Trypete, and from which that village derives its name (Τρυπητή). It would seem, indeed, as if this portion of the island had been a centre of the Byzantine settlements, for our next excavation at the top of the hill (site E, known locally as the 'Three Churches') gave the remains of an interesting early Byzantine church or churches with a curious cruciform baptistery, very well preserved. On removing the foundations of this church we came upon a series of late Greek statues which had been broken up and used as supports for the church walls—in all, parts of eight statues were thus discovered; unfortunately none of them has as yet been provided with a head; it is possible that an adjoining field, of which the owner has not as yet come to terms with us, may later give us some of the missing portions. Close by this field are the remains of a section of the town walls (site F), in splendid polygonal masonry of, perhaps, the fifth century B.C. or earlier: a small excavation enabled us to determine the site of the city gate at this point, and reveals a system of construction which should be of great interest, not only as regards the topography of the ancient town, but also the history of Hellenic fortification.

About half way between the Town Gate (site F) and the village of Trypete is a field, at one corner of which is the church of Hagia Phaneromenē: close to the south-west corner is the spot in which the archaic statue of 'Apollo,' now in the National Museum (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1892, Pl. xvi.) was found. As the proprietor assured us that the site had not been excavated, we started a trench across this field; at a depth of two metres we found a great quantity of pottery fragments, with an occasional good Greek fragment; also part of what seems to have been an archaic Doric capital in yellowish poros stone; fragments of architecture in this material are to be seen built into terrace walls here and there, and below the theatre is a retaining wall, built with courses of it combined with courses of red trachyte; it may be that this material was characteristic of the earlier Melian architecture. At a slightly lower depth we found traces of what had apparently been tombs of the Dipylon period; these had consisted of hollows in the bed rock, covered with heavy tiles, with bones and traces of burning; but unfortunately everything proved to be broken, and the site had evidently been already dug; the faithless proprietor afterwards confessed that our suspicions were correct. The whole of the ground from this point to the Town Gate is rich in fragments of pottery of the Dipylon period. It is probable that, in accordance with ancient usage, the road from the town, which took this direction, was lined with tombs, and that the earliest occupied the part nearest the gate. At present, we have found no trace of any Mycenaean settlement existing in this part of the island. Probably the Dorian colonists, coming from the Peloponnesos, and bringing with them their native style of ornament, would

have found the harbour an inducement in determining their selection of this part of the island; the earlier peoples, spreading downwards from island to island, naturally chose that north-east part which was nearest to Kimolos, and where, as we shall see, there are extensive traces of prehistoric and Mycenaean settlements, but very little of post-Mycenaean remains. This suggestion is further strengthened by the fact that on the adjoining portion of Kimolos there is a site marked Nychia (see the map, fig. 1), which is the name given to the obsidian implements characteristic of prehistoric settlements in these islands. On the north-east part of the island, though there is plenty of white flint, there is no obsidian indigenous to the soil; the nearest point at which obsidian occurs is Komia; but in the neighbourhood of Klimatobouni there is an ancient quarry of the obsidian which is found throughout the region between Skinopi and Adamanta: this quarry is called *τὰ Νύχια*. The north-east point of the island is very much exposed to the weather, and the coast here is most unsuitable for shipping; it seems unlikely, except for the reason given above, that it would naturally have commended itself to the early settlers as a site for their principal town.<sup>1</sup>

The houses of Trypete are built upon a terrace which is absolutely honeycombed with ancient tombs: the caves and ancient sinkings have been usually adapted to the requirements of modern life; but occasionally, even now, so the villagers assert, fresh tombs are discovered. One such was reported to exist in a cellar recently constructed in the house of Manousi; this we opened, but found, unfortunately, that others had been before us. It consisted of a rectangular sinking in the rock, large enough to hold a body at full length, and still contained a large series of fragments of pottery of the Dipylon style, with a fine lentoid gem in black steatite, which we hope to publish, with other Melian gems, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. It is of late Mycenaean style, but very finely worked, and represents a bull (similar to those on the Vaphio cups), overthrown, with legs and head in the air, beside a fig (?) tree. In all probability this tomb had been rifled at an early date, as a hole broken through it led into a lower but later tomb chamber with beds round the wall, which had been also ransacked. A third tomb had previously been opened in the same cellar, and was said to have contained a large vase with elaborate decorations of chariots, &c., in the Geometric style, which is in private hands in Melos. This tomb was also a rectangular sinking in the rock, about two metres long by one metre in width and depth; the long side on the north was interrupted nearly in the centre by a nearly circular sinking about thirty centimetres in diameter and about half a metre deep, which may have been intended to contain the objects deposited with the dead person.

On the further slope of the promontory on which the presumed Acropolis stands is a district called Tramythia, which seems to have formed the true centre of the ancient Hellenic town. On one of the middle slopes of this

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mackenzie has obtained evidence of the existence of at least two other prehistoric sites in the island. We hope, during the coming

season, to obtain the materials for a more complete archaeological survey of Melos.



district we found some highly interesting and important remains, which seem to have belonged to a building apparently of the early Græco-Roman period, devoted to one of those religious societies which were so popular from that period of antiquity downwards. A large marble altar which we found gives us what was probably the name of the deity to whose worship the society was devoted, as it is inscribed with a dedication to Dionysos Trieterikos. A marble statue (illustrating the transition stage between the full-length portrait and the bust) gives us similarly the name of the hierophant C. Marius Trophimus; and, lastly, we found what seems to have been the hall where possibly the mysteries were celebrated. The entire floor of this large chamber is covered with a mosaic pavement which for beauty and originality of design is certainly one of the finest specimens of this art which have come down to us. The tesserae are mostly large and fairly wide apart; but the more delicate details are laid in glass, while the black colour is varied by the insertion here and there of gleaming patches of obsidian.

What the exact character of the hall was we have not yet been able to determine. We hope to be able to clear more of the ground around it. Unfortunately, the road down to the shore passes over one end of it, and this portion of the building and mosaic have been hopelessly destroyed. We hope to publish it fully in a forthcoming number of the *Journal*, but meanwhile a brief description may here be useful. The pavement is 5·4 metres wide, and is partly preserved for a length of about 19 metres, but it probably continued for a length of at least 3·3 metres further. Around the whole run two wide polychrome borders; the outer is made up of a kind of Catherine wheel ornament with a centre of two intertwined links; the inner consists of kanthari between groups of acanthus leaves: inside this, again, is a narrower border of cable pattern, which also divides the mosaic into (probably) five panels; the centre panel is 6½ metres long, and consists of an elaborate series of geometric designs, chiefly variations of the twined link, but very ingeniously conceived. Next to this is a square panel, enclosing a circular space, in which are a great variety of fish, and, apparently, a boatman, whose head only is preserved; beside him is the inscription ΜΟΝΟΝ ΜΗΔ' ὕδωρ. The meaning of this is not quite clear: if the  $\mu\eta$  is to be taken in its classical usage, it would appear to signify, 'Give us anything but water,' a Bacchanalian sentiment which would at least be appropriate to the surroundings. It seems, however, more likely that the artist is here following the example of those who extol the beauty of their own work: he wishes us to understand that the fish in his pictorial aquarium are so life-like that if water only were thrown in they would swim. An admirable illustration of this sentiment (for which I am indebted to Dr. Sandys) is given in the epigram of Martial l. xxxv. *De piscibus sculptis*:—

" Artis Phidiaeæ torquæ clauus,  
Piscis adspicis: ubi aquam, natabunt."

At each corner of this panel is a tragic mask.

The topmost panel of all is most fortunately, at once the most important and the best preserved: it is 3·2 metres long, and, except from the roots of an olive, has received very little injury. From each corner a vine grows, spread-

ing its leaves, with tendrils and grapes, all over the design; amongst the branches a wild goat is couched, and various birds move about, picking at the fruit. The whole is executed with considerable spirit and vivacity, and the effect is enhanced by the beauty of the colouring. It is curious to find so early an example of a design which became, fifteen centuries later, the favourite subject of the carpet-weavers of Persia. The beautiful carpet of Ardebil, in the South Kensington Museum, and the famous Poldi-Pezzoli carpet, at Milan, are two instances in which the same principle has been applied to the decoration of a floor. In the centre of the upper portion of this panel (which must have formed the upper portion of the hall) is a small rectangular marble shaft, still *in situ*, perhaps an altar. For the present, this mosaic has been carefully re-covered with layers of reeds and earth, in order to preserve it. It is hoped that arrangements may be made for its eventual transport to Athens.

Two other small excavations in this part of the island deserve a passing notice. The first was in a field in Tranythia, slightly below the 'smaller acropolis' (site H): here was found a portion of a Roman bath, with two layers of flooring, the upper of white, the lower of red stucco: the caldarium was fairly complete, the hypocaust consisting of the usual rows of cylindrical and rectangular terra-cotta pipes set on end, with apertures above and below and in the narrow sides; on these rested a layer of thick flat tiles, over which was a layer of coarse rubble and cement: the fact that this building ran under the roadway made it impossible to clear it completely. The other excavation (site I) was in a broad terrace which runs nearly the entire length above the fine retaining wall of polygonal trachyte to the east of the theatre. The inner wall of this terrace we found to be composed of huge blocks of trachyte arranged in the form of steps, leading down from the terrace above. The risers formed by these blocks seem too large for a staircase, and it may be that they were intended for seats: in that case Mr. Bosanquet's suggestion seems a likely one, that this site represents the Stadion of Melos. The immediate neighbourhood of the site where the famous Aphrodite was found and which Furtwängler proposed (*Monatsschrift*, p. 616) to identify with the Gymnasium, would be an additional argument in favour of this, as is also the fact that our trenches on this site produced no evidence of any building; only a Roman aqueduct and a late Roman tomb were found: the latter, which contained a gold ring with a fine cameo (Nike driving a biga), and leaves of a gold wreath, will be published later. Certain difficulties in connection with the crop of wheat on this terrace necessarily delayed our operations here; but we hope to resume them, if possible, during the coming season.

On the east side of Trypete we made one or two experimental excavations in search of tombs. In one of these we were successful in discovering a group of twelve tombs, all apparently belonging to the early part of the sixth century, B.C., some of which were still unopened. These tombs consisted, like the Geometric tombs already described, of a rectangular sinking in the soft rock, with an average length of about 2.20 metres by 1.12 metre, filled in with soil. At a depth of about

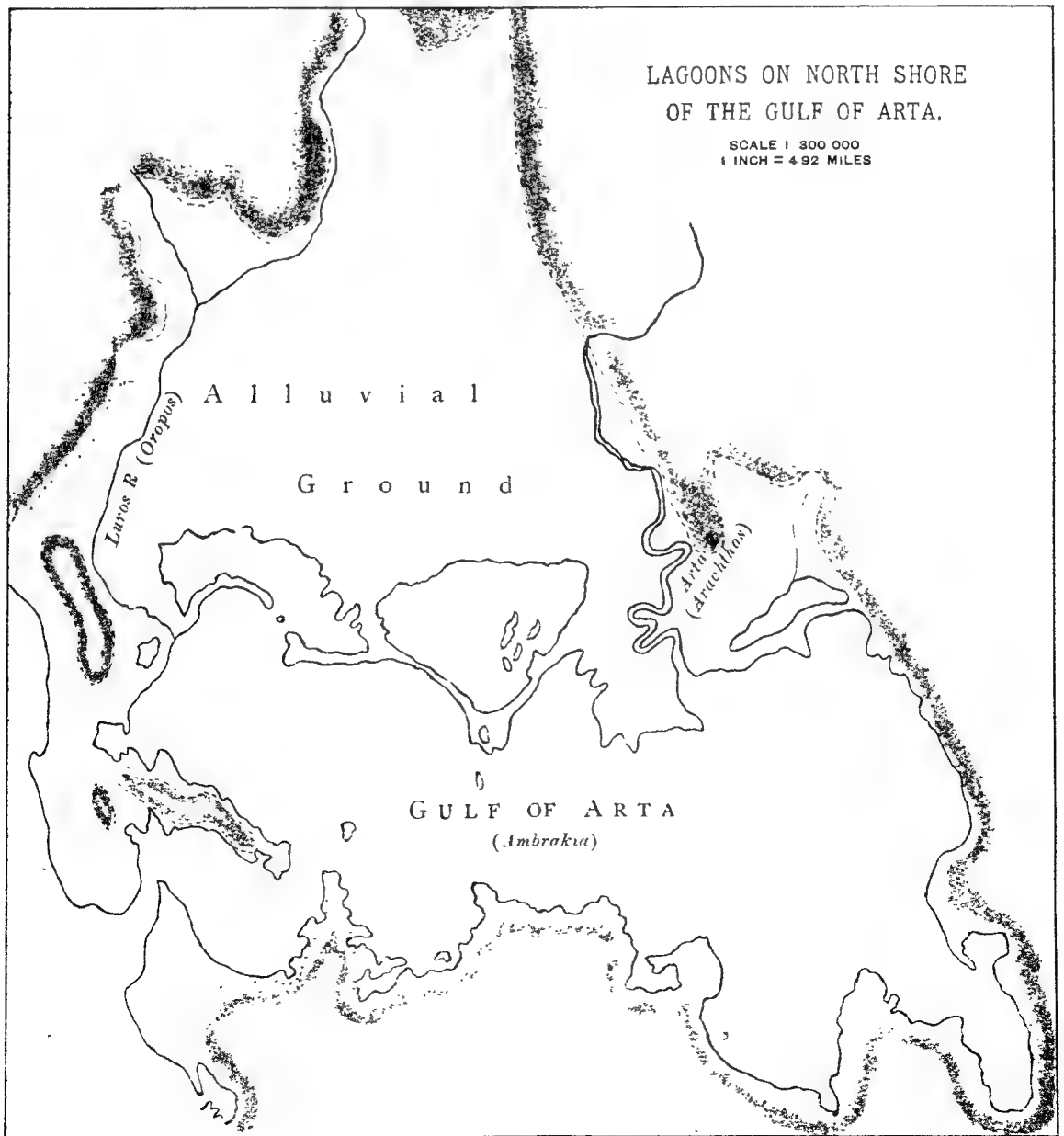
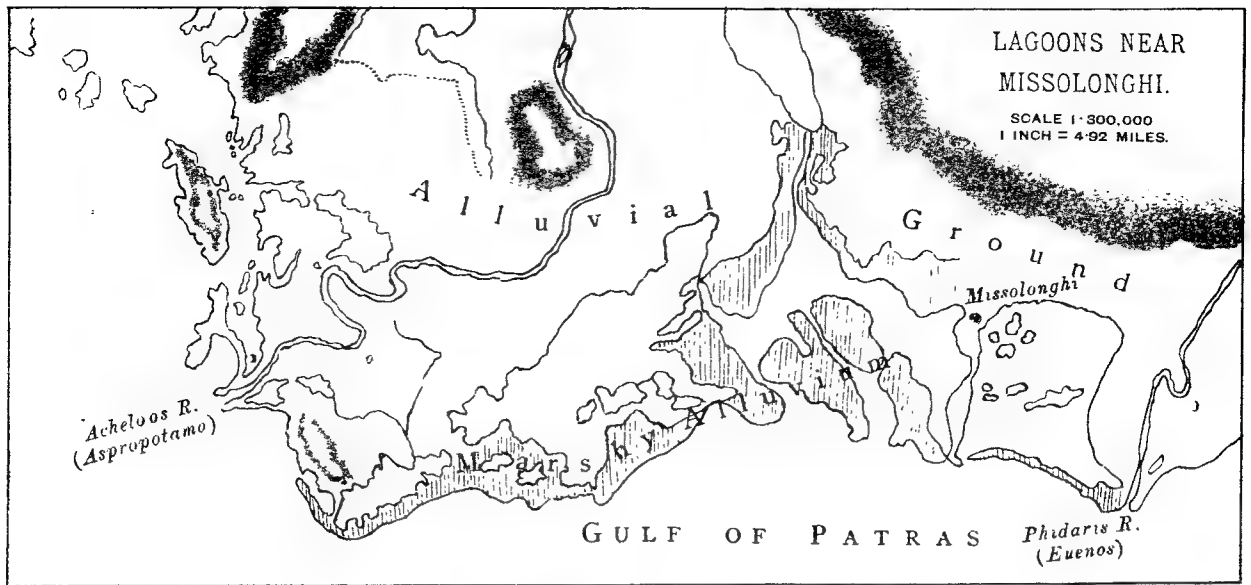
1½ metre is usually a layer of calcined wood (apparently olive, as the berries were frequently discovered); this continues for about 10 metre to 15 metre down to the floor of the grave, and in this charred mass the bones and other objects are usually found. In one such tomb we found, in the upper soil, fragments of pottery and two silver rings: below, the usual layer of charcoal, but against the south-west angle, on the south (long side), a series of the fine electrum ornaments, such as in the British and Berlin Museums are already known as coming from Melos (cf. *Arch. Zeit.* xlii. p. 110), together with a silver fibula, a piece of Oriental porcelain, and two apparently proto-Corinthian vases in fragments. An interesting peculiarity of this tomb is the fact that some of the gold jewellery found in it seems to have been attached to the wall of the grave. It seems probable that the body lay with the head to the west; beside it, on the right, a small space in the rock had been carefully smoothed, and bronze nails driven in, on which the earrings and pendants were hung. A fuller description of these tombs will be given in a subsequent paper. A fact of some importance for the history of pottery is that in one tomb of this group we discovered a few fragments of a large 'Melian' vase, together with a terra-cotta bull, and pieces of other ware of the sixth century. So far as I know, this is the first instance in which the actual circumstances have been known of the discovery of 'Melian' vases.

During my absence in Athens Mr. Bosanquet had made a tour of inspection of the island, in the course of which he had visited a site on the north-east coast, which Ross names 'ς τὸν κῆπρον, and which is mentioned by Dümmler in *Athen. Mitth.* 1886, p. 170. Here it was reported that very ancient tombs had been discovered; hard by, Mr. Bosanquet found a gable-shaped mound overhanging the sea, with traces of Cyclopean and other very archaic walls. On May 7th we began an excavation on this mound, and although our time only permitted of twelve days' excavation we have already found enough to show that this mound covered the remains of a prehistoric fortress or palace of the utmost importance. The walls have now been uncovered on the sea side to their lowest depth, and are in some cases preserved to a height of several metres, giving a complicated plan which in some respects recalls the plan of Tiryns; in the soil throughout vast quantities of Mycenaean pottery of all stages have been found; below these are traces of prehistoric pottery and a perfect layer of implements in obsidian and flint. It would seem, indeed, as if this site must have been a factory for obsidian implements, as there seemed to be traces of flint cores and other indications of their manufacture. As this part of the island closely adjoins Kimolos, and therefore the long chain of the Northern Cyclades, it may be that the obsidian implements found elsewhere among prehistoric remains in the islands owe their origin to Phylakopi.

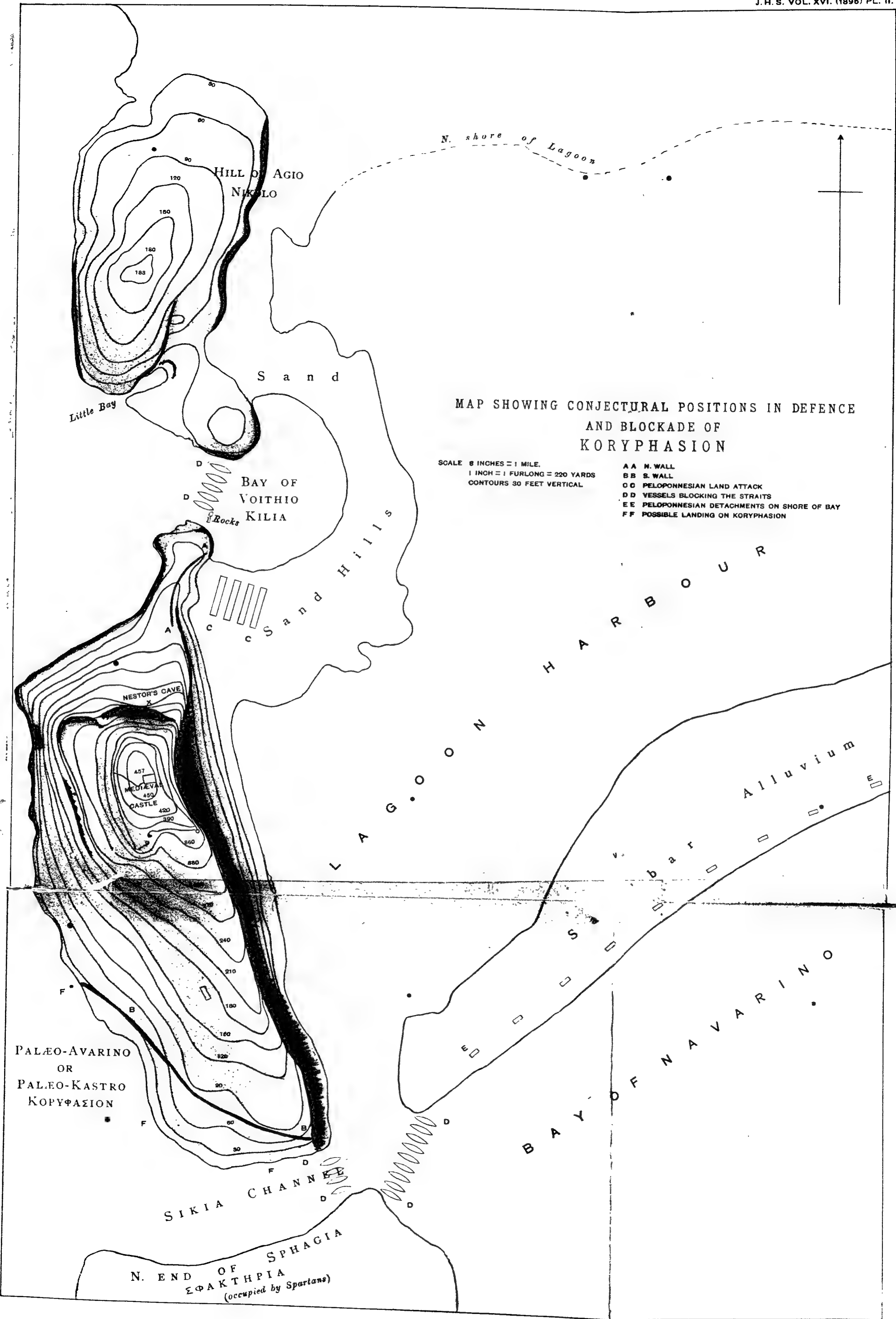
We were obliged to break off for the season on May 19th, but left the ground in such a condition that the work can easily be taken up again at such a time as we are able to resume operations in Melos.

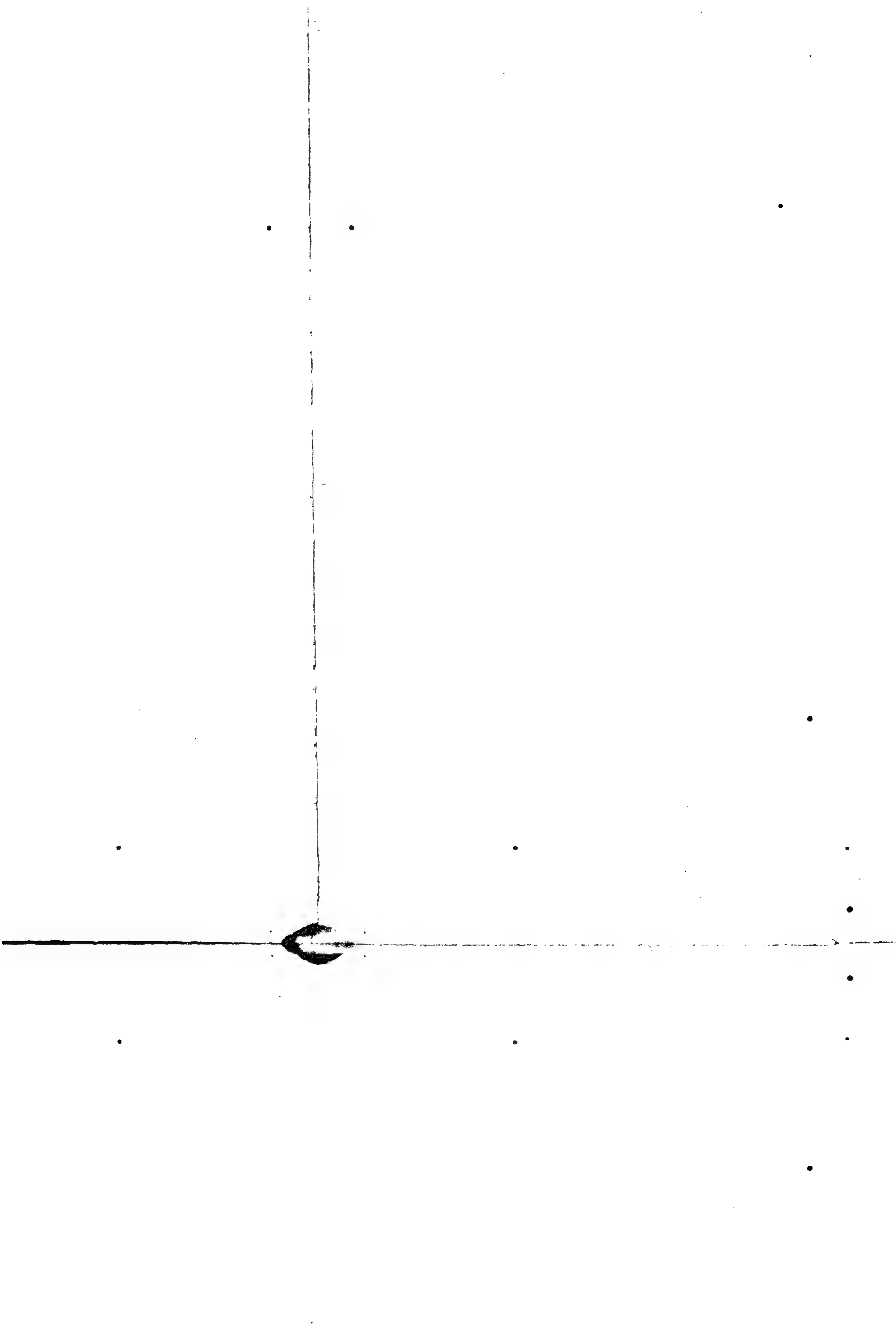
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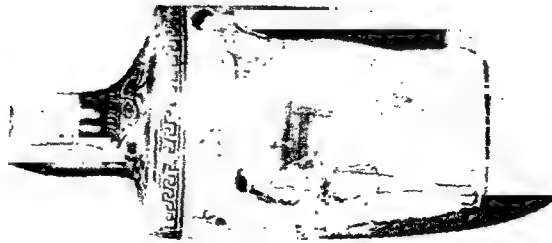
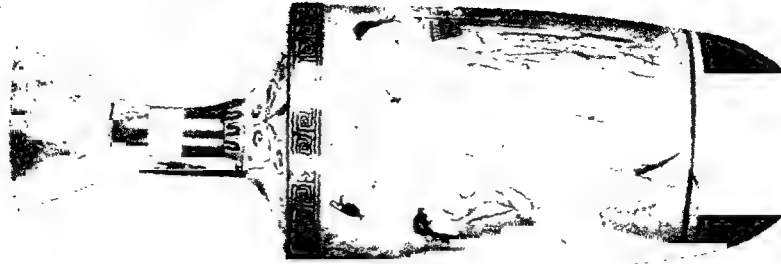












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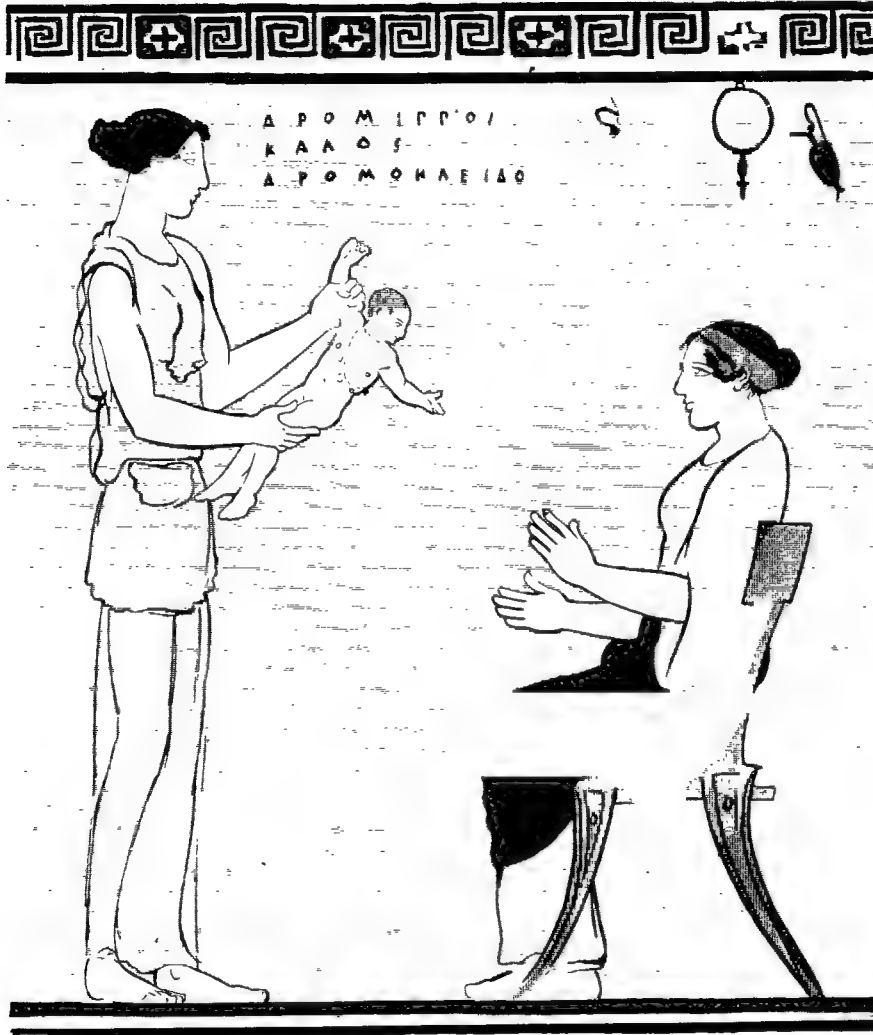
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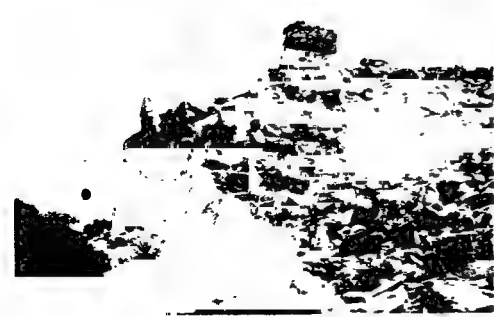


FIG. 1. SOUTH END OF PALÆO-KASTRO.

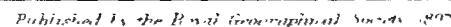


FIG. 2. NORTH END OF PALÆO-KASTRO



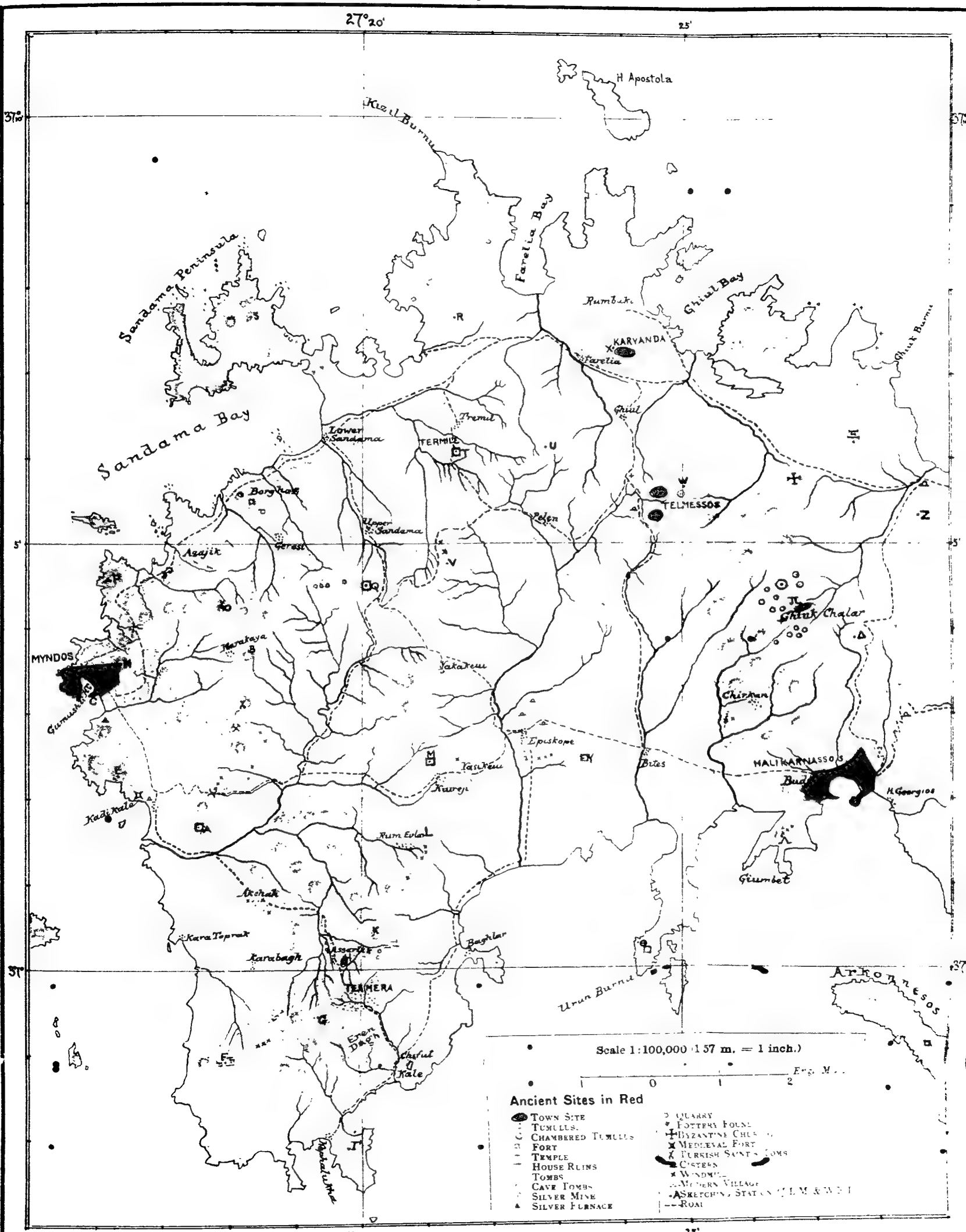








THE PENINSULA of MYNDOS, from Surveys by Messrs. Myres and Paton.





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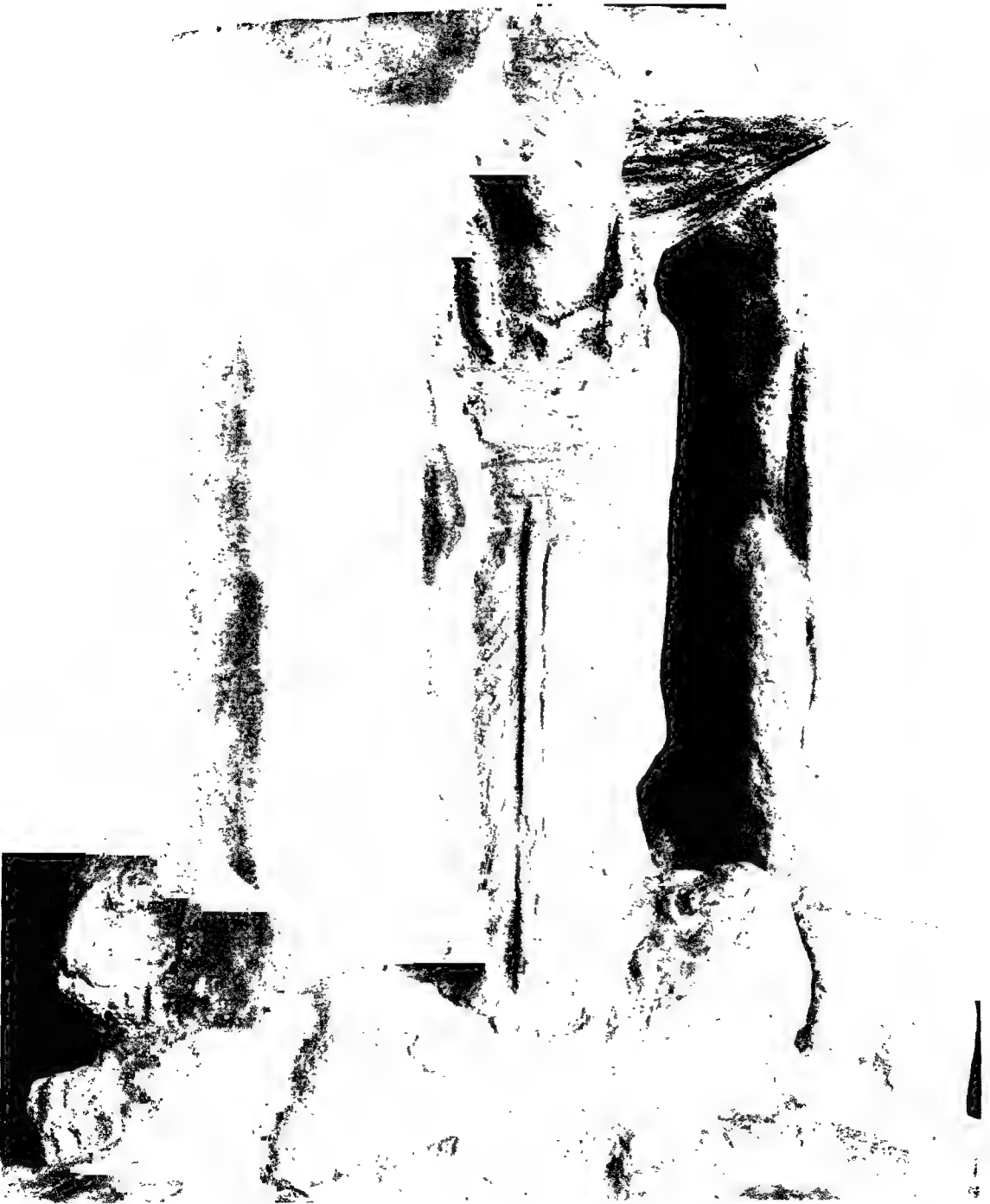
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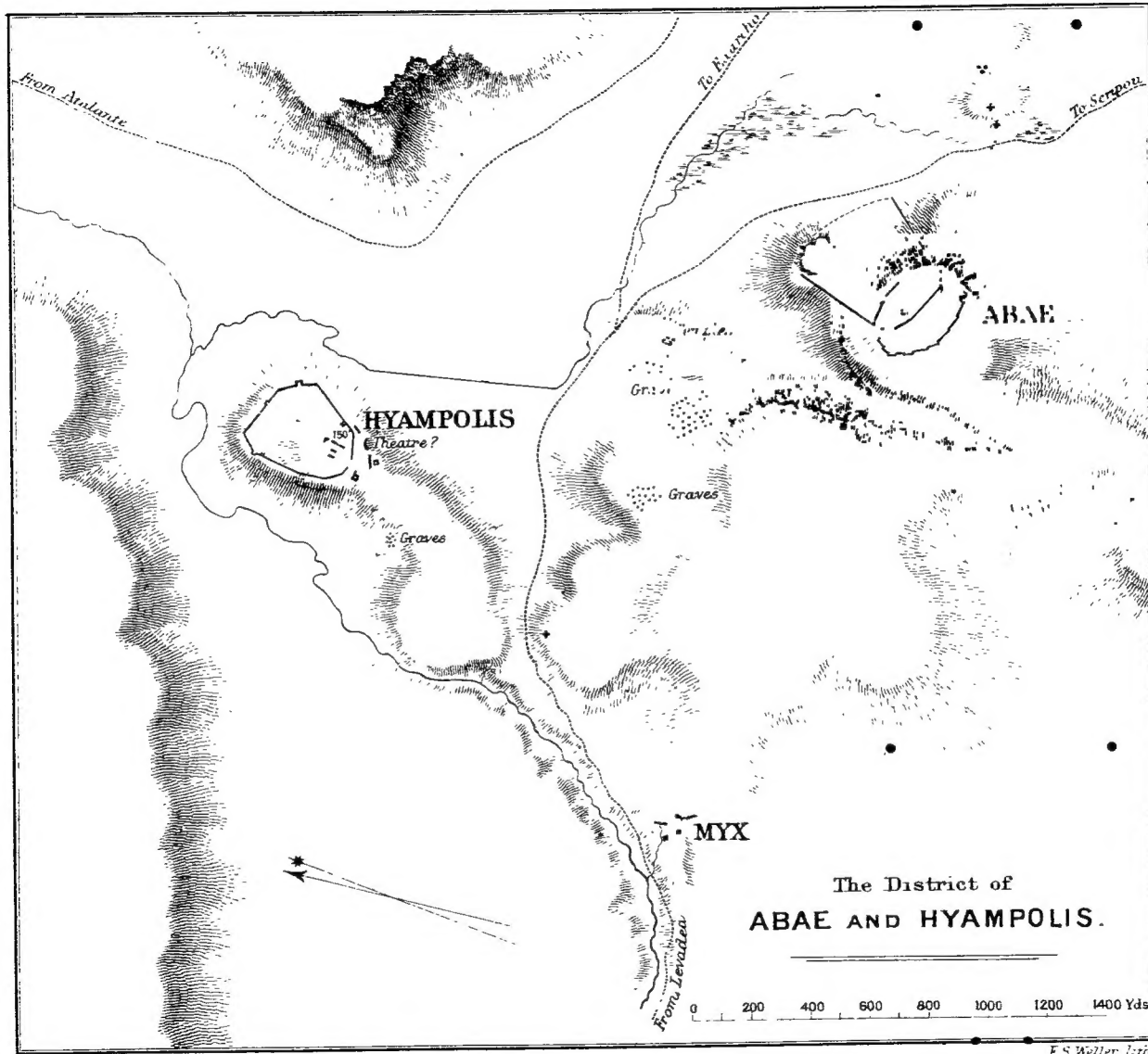
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